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Gorbachev To Make New Arms Proposal at UN
LD1711153888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will come out with new proposals, particularly as concerns disarmament, in his speech to the United Nations in New York in early December.

This was stated by Oleg Grinevskiy, Soviet specialist in disarmament questions, who is currently in Paris for the preparations of President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Moscow scheduled for November 25.

Addressing the French Senate, Grinevskiy said that to his knowledge, "Gorbachev's speech will be of crucial importance, because it will contain Moscow's new conceptual approach to global problems and disarmament."

He also said that "the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic arms is still possible" in 1989.

Obukhov Comments on Geneva Talks
LD1711233988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with A.A. Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation to the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments in Geneva, by unidentified correspondent on 17 November; place not given]

[Text] The latest round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments has ended in Geneva.

[Correspondent] What in your opinion have been the main results of the present round?

[Obukhov] During the 10th round of talks which has just ended, work continued in implementing the accords achieved at the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings in Washington and Moscow. A certain amount of progress has been achieved. The sides now have at their disposal joint draft documents which will directly make up the future accords on questions concerning strategic offensive armaments. However, the sides will have to make energetic efforts to decide the remaining issues.

[Correspondent] What are they, primarily?

[Obukhov] The primary question, I believe, is that of space armaments. We favor the Washington formula being consistently and precisely embodied in a separate agreement on complying with and not departing from the ABM Treaty. If one takes directly the issues of strategic offensive armaments, then here are problems in need of a solution, such as restrictions on long-range sea-based cruise missiles and the question of an accurate tallying of long-range air-based cruise missiles. I should say that despite the remaining problems, the foundation of the building and framework of a future accord have been created. I am convinced that by our joint efforts it will be possible to finish work on this buiding without unjustified delays and to prepare a draft treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments under conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Solton on 'Fine Progress' in Arms Talks
LD1711162288 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] A break has been announced in the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms of both nations. The talks are to resume next year when the United States President-elect George Bush is sworn in on 20 January. Meanwhile, the White House has issued a statement to say President Reagan points out that the two nations are in for an agreement. With optimism the chief Soviet delegate in Geneva, Aleksey Obukhov, briefed newsmen on prospects for the talks. Yuriy Solton feels the optimism is well grounded and elaborates:

Fine progress has been achieved at the talks. We can say the future agreement has been given a framework. True, there are still serious questions to be solved. It's been difficult to work out verification measures but an effective model that provides for on-site inspections was hammered out when the Soviet Union and the United States were preparing the INF Treaty to scrap medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. Some of the other differences are not objective.

When a document was being prepared to stay within the ABM Treaty for a definite period of time the American delegation, I felt, kept in mind the Star Wars program, writes Yuriy Solton. An attitude of this kind can only hinder the talks. In this context President Reagan's claim that the delay is rooted in the Soviet Union's attempts to link the future strategic arms treaty with provisions undermining the SDI program appear strange. Strange because the SDI program is not a negotiating item in Geneva. The Soviet Union does not object to the United States' intention to carry out research under this program but it insists on abiding by the ABM Treaty.

Staying within it for a definite time was what the leaders of the two nations agreed last December. Still, the differences can be overcome. I believe, writes Yuriy Solton in conclusion, the talks will get a fresh stimulus from Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming meeting with both Ronald Reagan and George Bush in New York.

CEMA Metallurgy Commission Ends Session

LD1211140688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2134 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Havana, 11 Nov (TASS)—The adoption of a final communique today marked the end of the first (constituent) session of the CEMA Standing Commission on Ferrous and Nonferrous Metallurgy, in which the delegations of the CEMA member countries and the SFRY, and a representative of the bureau of the International Organization for Cooperation in Ferrous Metallurgy, took part.

In accordance with a decision of the council sitting, those taking part in the session examined and approved a draft proposal on a CEMA Standing Commission on Ferrous and Nonferrous Metallurgy and submitted it to the CEMA Executive Committee for ratification. The session participants discussed the state of preparation of general agreements on cooperation between interested countries in setting up metallurgy projects of great national economic importance. A plan for the commission's work for 1988-90 was passed, which provides for the commission's activities to be concentrated on carrying out measures of a collective concept of socialist division of labor for the years 1991-2005.

The communique also points out that the commission defined the prime measures on implementation of special comprehensive programs of cooperation between the European CEMA countries and Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia, with the aim of speeding up the development of metallurgy in these three countries.

The delegations of a number of CEMA member countries had discussions with the Cuban delegation on specific issues relating to expanding bilateral cooperation in the metallurgy sphere, and visited the country's metallurgical enterprises. The session was conducted in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere and in a spirit of complete mutual understanding.

CEMA Committee on Raw Materials Meets

LD1711001688 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—The first (constituent) meeting of the CMEA committee for cooperation in the sphere of fuel and raw materials opened at the CMEA Secretariat here today. It is attended by representatives of the CMEA member countries at the committee.

The committee's meeting is attended by a representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in accordance with the agreement between CMEA and the Government of Yugoslavia.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 44th CMEA session meeting and the 128th CMEA Executive Committee meeting, the committee is discussing the draft statute of the committee, the proposals on its permanent working bodies and a list of CMEA's cooperation programmes and multilateral agreements which are to be systematically supervised by the committee for cooperation in the sphere of fuel and raw materials.

The plan of the committee's work for 1988-1990, other questions are under consideration.

Gerasimov, Adamishin Brief Journalists

Statement on Afghanistan Noted

LD1811120588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1028 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—Speaking at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center at today's briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, read excerpts from a statement issued by the command of the Soviet forces in the Republic of Afghanistan, which will be published in the press.

The command of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan has been carefully monitoring the situation and seeking to help the Afghan people in every way to put out the flames of war in their country.

Strictly following the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union withdrew 50 percent of its troops from Afghanistan between 15 May and 15 August.

Acting in the spirit of the national reconciliation policy, the Afghan leadership, for its part, adopted a number of important measures toward a political settlement.

All this can lead to a positive shift toward a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. But Pakistani authorities, acting in violation of the Geneva accords, and the Peshawar leaders of the Afghan opposition, have decided to exacerbate the situation in the country, escalate military activities in various parts of Afghanistan, and step up sabotage and terrorism.

In connection with the barbarous attacks on the airport and on correspondents on Afghan territory, the command of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan declares that it has taken additional measures to put an end to the sabotage and terrorist activities of the armed opposition.

If the armed opposition continues to escalate military activities, the command will have to apply other military means and use other combat resources at its disposal.

All responsibility for the consequences will then be wholly and squarely on the opposition and its patrons—the organizers of the acts of sabotage and terrorism.

Gerasimov on Kabul Incident

LD1711153188 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—It is essential to enlist all efforts and resources of the international community without delay to build a world free from fear and violence. Such is the principal idea of a final joint statement issued by the international conference on the subject "Towards a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World." The conference ended in New Delhi on Wednesday.

The Soviet Union fully solidarises with this conclusion, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

He emphasised that Soviet-Indian relations had for decades been serving as an example of how civilised inter-state contacts can and should be maintained on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems.

The spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs told journalists that rockets had been fired from Pakistani territory on an international group of pressmen in the area of the Afghan-Pakistani border on November 16. The group was visiting the area at the invitation of Afghan authorities. Among those wounded were Soviet journalist Yuriy Tyssovskiy (TASS), Andrey Solomonov (NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY), Dmitriy Meshchaninov (IZVESTIYA), Oleg Ignatyev (PRAVDA), French journalist Francis Cremier (L'HUMANITE), Johann Hippler (the press bureau of the Greens party group in the FRG's Bundestag), and Indian citizen Protan Chakravarti (AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE).

The firing of rockets from Pakistani territory against the journalists was a criminal act by the armed opposition and the fact which is an evidence of Islamabad's direct involvement in armed actions. Thereby Islamabad flagrantly violated the Geneva agreements, Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who took part in the briefing, in answer to a question about the Soviet Union's attitude with regard to the Iran-Iraq conflict, emphasised that the Soviet Union came out in favour of a political settlement of the conflict, and that the parties concerned themselves should secure it.

Gennadiy Gerasimov informed those present of the decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Soviet Union's accession to the November 19, 1976, protocol to the Athens convention dated December 13, 1974, on the transportation of passengers and their luggage by sea.

Gerasimov on Geneva Draft

LD1711165488 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—The working out of a joint draft treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive armaments and draft documents connected with it are the main result of the 10th round of

Soviet- American talks on nuclear space weapons in Geneva. This was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

He said that the decisions taken by the Soviet and American leaders in Washington and Moscow, as well as intensive talks held by the foreign ministers of the two countries have created, on the whole, a solid base for the delegations in Geneva to make progress at their talks. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman quoted as an example a certain headway in the implementation of an agreement on mobile launching installations of intercontinental ballistic missiles, heavy bombers and air-based cruise missiles.

However, he continued, the delegation did not manage to coordinate all the questions in the course of the regular round. Specifically, despite the efforts exerted by the Soviet side, the provisions of the Washington agreement dealing with the joint working out of a draft agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty, as well as on the limitation of sea-based long-range cruise missiles were not put into practice.

It is obvious that further active efforts of both sides will be needed for finishing the drawing up of the texts of joint documents, Gerasimov said. "The Soviet Union believes that a break at the talks will be used for ensuring the constructive beginning of the next round, as well as a further advance towards the set goal—the working out of a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments by the USSR and the U.S.," he pointed out.

Berlin Air Coordination Discussed

LD1711150388 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—"The Soviet Union supports the initiatives proposed by the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to coordinate air traffic in the area of Berlin-Schoenfeld airport of the capital of the GDR." Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated at a briefing here today.

He recalled that the GDR's Foreign Ministry sent notes to the U.S. Department of State, the British Foreign Office, and the French Foreign Ministry at the end of October this year, suggesting that information on matters concerning the safety of flights in the area of the airport be exchanged in accordance with international norms.

"However, the three Western powers did not show interest in the proposals," Gennadiy Gerasimov said. Meanwhile the matter concerns such an important subject as the safety of air traffic. The point is that dangerous near-collisions took place more than once already in the area of Berlin-Schoenfeld airport of the capital of the GDR owing to the lack of any coordination of the movements of U.S., British, and French planes taking off and landing at the airfields of West Berlin.

The proposals of the GDR which exercises its legitimate rights and duties are prompted by a desire to secure the safety of the life and health of passengers.

"The situation calls for effective measures to resolve the problem, notwithstanding the differences in the juridical views of the sides," the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry emphasised.

Adamishin on Quadripartite Talks

LD1711143188 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Although difficulties can still arise in the way of the final settlement in south-west Africa, the Soviet Union expressed satisfaction with the success at the Geneva talks, Anatoliy Adamishin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, told a news briefing at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today.

He told journalists that agreement had been reached on the last remaining issue in the package of agreements on the time-table for Cuban withdrawal from Angola at the recent round of U.S.-mediated talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa which ended in Geneva on November 15. There was an understanding that Angola's security would be guaranteed and Namibia would receive independence in accordance with Resolution 435 of the Security Council.

The Soviet Union has supported the talks from the beginning. A Soviet unofficial observer was present at the venues of all nine rounds of the talks. Anatoliy Adamishin reminded that the Soviet Union expressed readiness to become a guarantor of the future talks along with other permanent members of the Security Council.

"The agreements reached in Switzerland in actual fact pave the way to the political settlement of the situation in south-western Africa," Anatoliy Adamishin stressed.

Further on PNC Statement

PM1711125388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's participation in the work of the latest UN General Assembly session in New York reflects the great significance which the Soviet Union attaches to this world organization. G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, stated this at a 16 November briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

The Soviet Union welcomes the package of decisions adopted at the Palestine National Council session, G.I. Gerasimov declared. At that highest political forum of the Palestinian people an important step was taken toward ensuring more favorable conditions for a Near East settlement.

The last doubts expressed by certain circles with regard to the PLO's ability to be a serious partner in the process of settling the Near East conflict have been clearly and authoritatively dispelled, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out. This process will now receive an additional boost.

The USSR has contacted the PLO leadership and intends to consult with the permanent members of the Security Council and other interested states with a view to working out further measures to activate steps leading to the practical preparation of an international conference on the Near East.

PRAVDA Cites Reaction to Gorbachev Speech

PM1711160788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS roundup dated 16 November: "USSR: Restructuring in Action"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Washington—An official White House spokesman has declared that M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming arrival in the United States will enable him to have a meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush, which will be a demonstration of the continuing constructive relationship between the two countries, whose development has been promoted by the four previous Soviet-U.S. top-level meetings.

Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev declared that he would go to the United States to address the UN General Assembly session and would also visit Britain and Cuba in December, the U.S. AP agency reports. The Soviet leader emphasized that the USSR intends to cooperate actively with socialist countries and with all peoples and governments with a view to improving international relations and strengthening security in the world.

London—"We want to maintain the effective relationship which we have with President Gorbachev and his colleagues. We want to make it clearly understood that we wish them all the best, and we want them to achieve success in the exceptionally difficult matter of restructuring the country's economy," G. Howe, British secretary for foreign and commonwealth affairs, declared in an interview with a correspondent of the ITV television company.

Paris—R. Dumas, leader of the French foreign policy department, declared in an interview in the newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS: "The increasing number of meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and West European states signifies a mutual desire for exchange and contacts. This desire is being expressed amid a new situation and a new atmosphere in Europe, which is a result, on the one hand, of the intensifying dialogue between Moscow and Washington and, on the other, of the changes that have occurred in the Soviet Union and certain other socialist countries." Affirming that France maintains relations with the Soviet Union at the highest level, he pointed out that "the normal rhythm of Soviet-French meetings has now been restored." [passage omitted]

Beijing—Under the headline "M.S. Gorbachev, Speaking at an Agricultural Conference, Pointed Out That To Resolve the Agrarian Question It Is Important To Develop the Activeness of Rural Workers" the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO published a XINHUA report in which it familiarizes readers with the contents of the Soviet leader's speech. The report singles out M.S. Gorbachev's words to the effect that a CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be held next February to determine the tasks of the CPSU's contemporary agrarian policy. The Soviet leader emphasized, XINHUA reports, that no progress will be made in resolving the agrarian question without the party's enhanced role and without tremendous ideological, explanatory, and organizational work, work with cadres and working people.

NATO Ministers Agree on Arms Programs

PM1711090788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Own information-TASS report under the rubric "Foreign Military News": "One More Step"]

[Text] The NATO countries have taken one more step on the way to creating a European arms "common market." At a session in Luxembourg of the independent European programming group, which tackles questions of coordinating arms development and production programs, the defense ministers of Belgium, Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, France, and the FRG approved an "action plan" providing for broader cooperation in this sphere and the preferential placing of military orders in West European countries.

In this way West European countries hope to compete more successfully with the United States in the production of arms. In addition, they believe that the pooling of efforts in this sphere and the abandonment of parallel development will make it possible to reduce the growing expenditure on acquiring modern arms, which will total approximately $60 billion for the European NATO members this year. To implement the project it has been decided to set up a permanent secretariat and two working commissions within the framework of the independent programming group, which will be entrusted with coordinating national arms purchasing programs and research in the sphere of arms development.

Within the framework of the approved "action plan," the defense ministers of a number of West European countries approved three specific major arms production programs in Luxembourg. Representatives of the British, FRG, Italian, and Spanish military departments signed a compromise agreement on the joint creation of a "European fighter of the nineties." In addition, an agreement was signed on the creation of the European Helios spy satellite, in which France, Italy, and Spain are participating.

Possible Arctic Site for NATO Base Viewed

LD1211215388 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1630 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The Danish papers have reported fairly extensively on NATO's plan to build a new standby airfield in eastern Greenland. Our observer, Oleg Vokulovskiy, writes in this regard:

If we listen to the NATO men, for instance Admiral Lee Baggett, supreme allied commander, Atlantic, it would seem that the personnel at the U.S. military base in Keflavik in Iceland are fed up with the Icelandic climate. Until now all has been well, but now the American soldiers are suddenly fed up. Thus the NATO headquarters started immediately to plan another military airfield for the NATO planes, but in such a way that it would only be a standby airfield. It proved that the airfield to be built in Greenland could also be used by ordinary passenger aircraft at almost any time. This is the NATO version.

Now the real situation. The NATO people are quite correct in saying that the climate leaves much to be desired, if we speak about the real climate and not about the political climate. Since 1982 NATO has had plans to build a standby airfield in Iceland, but at (?Ysavik), north of Keflavik. But the coalition which recently formed a government in Iceland and which includes, among others, the left-wing People's Alliance, canceled the plan to establish another NATO base in Iceland. Thus came the plan for a future airfield in Greenland. As before, NATO concluded that it must be built much farther north from Keflavik. It is rumored that the airfield could be built at Mesters Vig in Greenland, which is 900 km north of Keflavik. The climate there is even harsher. There is almost always snow, ice, darkness, and fierce storms there. The choice of a standby airfield is more than strange, all the more so as it is totally unsuitable for passenger aircraft. Regarding a civilian airfield, it is not included in NATO's plans, despite the fine statements. NATO is not concerned about the whims of military persons regarding the climate, either.

Strategic views alone, and, above all, those of U.S. military strategy in the Arctic, dictated the strange site for the airfield. One of its purposes will be the fight against Soviet strategic submarines in the Arctic ice. In a word, the purpose is to eliminate the Soviet Union's nuclear counterstrike in the event a conflict breaks out. It will become an original Strategic Defense Initiative, but an underwater one. The shadow must be raised, and one must look as if no revenge would follow. [sentence as heard] NATO is trying to seek for itself the most suitable site possible in the eastern part of Greenland. It is not only a question of making the choice. Although the NATO leadership announced that this question would not be solved without the agreement of the Greenland self-government bodies and the Danish Government, NATO's plans for the next few years already include the building of a military airfield in just this area. We absolutely agree with the Nordic experts, among them (?Gunnarsson) from Iceland, that it is not at all a question of a standby airfield but a permanent NATO military base in the Arctic.

The Soviet Union has proposed the demilitarization of the Arctic, to remove it from the sphere of military rivalry. NATO responded to this with the intention to build one more base, which will never contribute to the development of stability and peace in the area but will create preconditions for the increase of imbalance. Here are two completely opposite views of the Arctic, although there is a third view, too. It is Greenland's position. Greenland must adopt its own stand. Judging by the development of events, the Greenlanders do not intend to sit with their arms folded. The leaders of the country's Social Democratic Siumut Party, the bourgeois Atassut Party, and the leftist Inuit Ataqatigiit party have already made their unequivocable protests against new military bases in Greenland. The development of events has been undesirable for NATO. The Greenland politicians have already noted that the revision of the 1951 defense agreement between Denmark and the United States has again become topical. This time Greenland must also be at the negotiating table. In this situation it is difficult for NATO to oppose it, notes our observer, Oleg Vokulovskiy.

U.S. Vetoes UN Disarmament Draft Resolution

LD1811000188 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 17 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly's first committee emphasized the need to increase the United Nations' central role in disarmament.

The draft resolution adopted by the first committee at Czechoslovakia's suggestion stresses the need to expand cooperation among all nations to reach agreements on arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of mutual interests, equality, non-infliction of damage to each others' security, non-use of force and law and order in international relations.

The American delegation was the only one to vote against the resolution.

Another draft adopted by the first committee stressed the importance of conscientious implementation of the General Assembly's resolutions on disarmament. At the suggestion of Cameroon, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Czechoslovakia, the first committee noted that consistent implementation of these decisions would demonstrate the determination of countries to work out mutually acceptable, effective and verifiable measures on disarmament.

The document was voted against by the United States and Israel.

UN Committee Calls for Nuclear Freeze

LD1812025288 Moscow TASS in English 2358 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 18 TASS—The first committee of the U.N. General Assembly called upon all states possessing nuclear weapons to agree, by issuing a joint declaration, to a global freeze of nuclear weapons.

On Thursday, it adopted the draft resolution on freezing nuclear weapons, in which this measure, although it is not an end in itself, is characterized as an effective step toward preventing a further buildup in and qualitative modernization of nuclear weapons. It would create a favourable climate for the negotiations on cutting back and eliminating nuclear weapons.

The draft welcomes the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, the conclusion by them of the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the agreement in principle on reducing by half strategic arsenals. In this connection the first committee expressed the conviction of the urgent need to keep the momentum of the talks to effect reductions and impose caps on the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons.

To the regret of the majority of the delegates of the first committee, this recommendation failed to win the support of Western powers. Thirteen of them led by the United States voted against the draft on freezing nuclear weapons.

Observers View Relations With U.S., Trade

LD1811101088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 16 November carries a 20-minute special edition of the "Repercussions" program. Moderator Boris Aleksandrovich Kalyagin, USSR Gostelradio political observer, explains that so many questions came in from viewers after the recent regularly scheduled "Repercussions" program, which was on the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, that it was decided to broadcast a special edition in order to answer them. The other two participants in the program are identified as Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, political observer for IZVESTIYA, and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. The video shows Bovin, Kalyagin, and Shishlin seated in that order from left to right at a table.

Kalyagin opens with a question from two named viewers on how the change in administration in Washington will influence the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Shishlin replies: "I think we will be able to fairly quickly convince ourselves, on the basis of facts, that the status quo which has been established in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue—status quo in the good sense of the word—is operating. But despite all the understanding reflected in the agenda for Soviet-U.S. discussions, we must of course see that not only do our relations have a positive aspect, but a certain negative side as well. So very serious work lies ahead to make Soviet-U.S. relations truly fruitful, something that will be to the benefit of our two countries and the world community."

Asked about the notion of concluding a friendship and cooperation treaty with the United States in light of improving relations, Bovin comments that "I feel that such a sharp transition from the enemy image—that is the fashionable term—to the image of a friend is impossible in politics. I think that the time has simply not come for that, and, in general, that a fairly long time must pass before we can consider such a treaty realistically."

Shishlin follows with some generalities about the desirability of overcoming the Soviet lag in the scientific and technical sphere: Disarmament will facilitate an acceleration in scientific and technical progress. Answering two questions read out by Kalyagin, Bovin reiterates the Soviet adherence to no first use of nuclear arms and makes the general assertion that trust is important to prevent a nuclear war from breaking out, even by accident.

Kalyagin cites a letter from a viewer doubting "the other side's sincerity," on the grounds that disarmament is disadvantageous for capitalists, who have to reorganize their production. Shishlin comments: "You know, that question contains both truth and falsehood. Of course there is a certain amount of truth in the point that in the United States, and not only in the United States, there are circles interested in continuing the arms race, and a certain political and economic interest is connected with that. But the falsehood is the view that imperialism cannot get by at all without militarism as such." He cites historical facts to support this point, recalling that the United States reduced defense spending to 4 percent of its GNP in the postwar years. "As for the topic of sincerity, sincerity is a sacred word, undoubtedly. But you know that in politics we judge not by emotional sensations but by facts, deeds, and actions. The facts, deeds, and actions of recent years convince us that it is possible to talk to the United States and to reach agreements with it."

After a factual exposition from Shishlin on different methods of destroying the nuclear missiles covered by the INF Treaty, the subject turns to U.S. sanctions against the USSR. Bovin draws a distinction between sanctions, such as Carter's ban on grain sales, and "a whole number of restrictions... a huge list of those objects... which the Western countries—the Americans and Western countries as a whole—cannot supply to the Soviet Union, since these objects can be used for our military purposes," but makes no further comment.

Shishlin touches on the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which "introduced discriminatory measures with regard to the Soviet Union. That is, we are not offered most-favored-nation status in trade with the United States, which narrows our opportunities for any kind of trade maneuvering in the U.S. market." He refers briefly to a feeling among U.S. businessmen that the amendment should be cancelled, but makes no further comment.

Other subjects covered include economic cooperation—where Bovin complains in general terms about Soviet bureaucrats who are holding back joint enterprises—and cooperation in the field of television, which prompts Kalyagin to list a number of planned telebridges, but without giving any details of screening times.

Kalyagin reads out a viewer's question asking whether Soviet citizens will be able to travel to the United States and other Western countries to earn hard currency. Bovin comments that "unfortunately" this is not yet the case, "but since we are preparing to create a law-governed state and are planning to be more civilized, I think that the time will come when there will be no problems here." Shishlin interrupts, objecting that Western Europe is already saturated with foreign workers, so that it will be difficult for any Soviet citizen to find work. A related question read out by Kalyagin, on freedom for Soviet citizens to travel abroad other than on organized tours or by invitation, is taken by Bovin, who comments that "the point is that our restructuring has only just begun. We have already begun to make this exit system more flexible, but we have not yet entered the general norm of international law, so to speak—incidentally, we have signed the convention on human rights—according to which a person can truly move freely from country to country, if elements of secrecy, say, are not somehow involved. But I am certain that it will pass at some time—I don't know when, for it depends on the general pace of our restructuring—and everything will fall into place. Any person will be able, if he so desires, to leave and return, and there will not be any problems here. But not all at once, probably, not all at once."

Kalyagin introduces the next question: "There is one critical question which we need to answer because it was addressed to all four participants in the previous edition," the three now present and Zorin, now in Washington. "It was posed by several people, and in general it runs like this: All four of you worked during the time of stagnation... and all four of you propagandized policy during the time of stagnation. Now you are propagandizing our foreign policy in the time of glasnost. Is there not a contradiction here?" This prompts the following exchange:

[Bovin] "I have said that, you see, the situation with us journalists is very simple. In contrast to other people, whose work may take place in a closed room and it is not known what they are doing, I have been in journalism since 1972, and everything I do is before the eyes of an audience of millions—what I have written and what I have said—by the quality of what I have written, by all my work. What more can I say? It is senseless..."

[Kalyagin, interrupting] "I feel that there would be no period of glasnost and restructuring now if there had not been people during the period of stagnation who thought then of the need for restructuring."

[Bovin] "Yes. Of course, truly, the situation is complicated, and sometimes we had to..."

[Kalyagin, interrupting] "As a whole, it was necessary to fulfill the party's decisions."

[Bovin] "That was not it, but truly we could be—at least, I could be... [changes thought] There is a saying: You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink. I could not always say what I thought; very often I could not do so. But in practice [word indistinct] there were no essential situations where they could force me to say what I did not think and what I did not believe."

[Shishlin, looking straight into the camera] "Well, how we act and how we conduct ourselves—that is for you to judge."

The final question raised concerns the idea that representatives of the foreign press take part in "Repercussionss." This is seen as a good idea, without any detailed elaboration.

Western Views on Restructuring Discussed

PM1711152988 Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 46, 11-17 Nov 88 (Signed to Press 10 Nov 88) p 1

[Editorial: "Sacred Legacy"]

[Text] The Great October festivities are over. This year we celebrated with a special feeling, thinking about what has to be done to renew our life and our society, with feelings of joy, hope, and expectation.

Sincerely supporting restructuring and the course of democratizing social and political life, the course of glasnost adopted in our country, our friends abroad also celebrated the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Our restructuring, like the October revolution in the past, has attracted the whole

world's attention. The Soviet Union's international reputation has grown." This was noted in the report by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the festive session devoted to the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 5 November 1988.

The Meaning of Changes

But do our friends in the West always correctly understand the essence of restructuring; do people there always correctly assess the nature of the changes occurring in our foreign policy? Arguments continue unabated within left-wing, democratic, and progressive circles, arguments which are to a certain degree an extension of our own debates. There are times when, in the course of the ongoing polemics abroad, notes are struck which indicate that some aspects of our work give rise to questions, and quite difficult questions.

In addition, there are times when the voices heard from the Soviet Union do not help in the search for answers. A few days ago, for example, the notorious N. Andreyeva deemed it necessary to draw the international public's attention to the position she outlined in the pages of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. In an interview with the Yugoslav newspaper VJESNIK she declared that all her "fears" have been borne out. Referring to letters she has received, N. Andreyeva claims that the only ones who disagree with her ideas are apparently "relatives of people who were dekulakized and exiled in the past," "militant nationalists and primarily Zionists," and "people who a priori reject socialism in the past, present, and future."

Yugoslav readers ignorant of the wave of indignation that N. Andreyeva's first statement generated among the Soviet public might even believe these claims. But we know their worth.

Such manifestations of nostalgia for Stalinism would not be worth mentioning were it not for just one fact. The defenders and apologists of capitalism are trying to exploit our criticism of the methods of socialist building during the Stalin years and the years of stagnation and our radical economic reform to prove the inefficiency of the socialist system in general. Moreover, they strive to represent both democratization and the economic reform as a retreat from socialist principles, as a gradual slide toward capitalism.

Of course, the meaning of the changes occurring in our country is not always totally clear abroad. Especially an aspect of the economic reform in the Soviet Union like the gradual reduction of the specifically state form of ownership and the expansion of other social forms of ownership, such as the cooperative form, which in our eyes serves as a most important precondition for overcoming the working people's alienation from the means of production and transforming them into genuine masters of their enterprises. We always remember Lenin's ideas that on socially owned land, under the control of a state power belonging to the working class, a cooperative enterprise is identical to a socialist enterprise. He noted that, in our conditions, the cooperative system is nearly always totally identical with socialism.

By no means everyone abroad is familiar with Lenin's ideas about the cooperative system's role in socialist society and the building of socialism. At the same time, the cooperative movement in capitalist countries has an obvious class nature. On this basis it is easy for misconceptions about the nature of the cooperative system in the Soviet Union to emerge abroad, confusing this system with what everyone in the West knows from personal experience, in other words the capitalist cooperative system.

The instigators of the campaign about the Soviet Union's "slide" toward capitalism eagerly take advantage of this conceptual confusion in the public mind.

Much attention in the discussions that continue among our friends abroad focuses on problems of Soviet foreign policy. Once again, the bourgeois mass media intervene in the debate. For example, a great number of false rumors stem from the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which is depicted either as a conspiracy by the two superpowers behind the backs of the other peoples in the world, or as capitulation by us in the face of the U.S. position-of-strength policy, or once again as a result of our "slide" toward capitalism. Our adversaries assert that domestic economic difficulties are prompting us to become pragmatists in international affairs and to review our former principles.

Former Principles, New Ideas

There is hardly any point in trying to guess whether we are dealing with misunderstandings or with malicious distortions of the very essence of Soviet foreign policy. The truth is that restructuring, as M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted, "has enabled us to build our foreign policy more consistently and more creatively, with due consideration for the realities of the new times, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal cohabitation which were first proclaimed by V.I. Lenin and stem from the very nature of socialism."

From confrontation with the United States, a confrontation which has at times made mankind quake in terror, we have moved on to a quest for agreements on specific questions of vital importance to the peoples on earth. This is not because we are intimidated by threats or are "sliding toward capitalism," but because we have started to understand in greater depth, more realistically, and more accurately the nature of U.S. foreign policy and the

entire multifaceted and rapidly changing international situation. We managed to perceive that the foreign policy of the United States, just like that of the other capitalist states—despite its clear class nature—does contain important elements of concern for a whole series of global and universal problems offering opportunities for substantial expansion of the sphere of our cooperation and collaboration.

Realistically assessing the military-economic potential of the United States and its international influence, we cannot but perceive that, unless we have good relations with it, it is impossible to solve some of the most urgent and most burning problems of our time. They include the elimination of the threat of a nuclear conflict, disarmament, regional conflicts, and environmental and other questions. At the same time, however, the Soviet Union pays more attention than ever to the development of all-around friendly relations with West European countries. The plan put forward by the USSR to jointly build a "common European home" is not just a beautiful dream but a specific and practical initiative whose implementation will certainly take time but, if successful, will completely change the political climate on the continent. Finally, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of important initiatives to develop cooperation and strengthen security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The various avenues of the USSR's foreign policy activity have been given a new impetus and have been enriched with new ideas. At the same time, they have become more balanced. This is far from indicating some alleged "concessions" by us in the face of strong-arm pressure from imperialism. On the contrary, the Soviet Union's new foreign policy concept displays the processes of Soviet society's democratization and the restructuring of our public awareness, which have made it possible to take a broader look than before at the situation in the world and to reveal and correctly evaluate the importance of universal and global problems. In other words, these changes testify to socialism's greater maturity and not at all to its "retreat," as some of those who wish us ill are trying to assert.

October's revolutionary heritage is sacred for us. And the present policy of our party and government substantially enriches it.

Lukyanov Meets Aga Khan, SRFY's Mojsov
PM1711162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For the Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] The human factor must be at the center of all the plans aimed at ensuring economic growth, creating a system of security, and building a nuclear-free world.

This was the topic of discussion at a meeting 14 November between A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and representatives of the independent bureau on international humanitarian problems. They were taking part in a roundtable meeting with prominent figures of the Soviet public on the theme "The Ethics of Solidarity Among People and Humanitarian Problems in the Nuclear Age."

S. Aga Khan (Iran), one of the leaders of the independent bureau, and other members noted the importance and fruitfulness of the meetings and conversations which they have had in Moscow. It was said that the long-standing and firm ties with Soviet lawyers are yielding good results in the joint elaboration of recommendations designed to promote changes which would enable modern society to be made more humane. The bureau's representatives supported the Soviet peace strategy and spoke warmly of the USSR's efforts to remove the threat of nuclear catastrophe from mankind.

The bureau's activity is followed attentively in the Soviet Union, A.I. Lukyanov said. Its report entitled "Will Mankind Preserve Its Humanity?" has evoked a generally positive response in our country. Many of its fundamental standpoints are consonant with the ideas of our restructuring and the course of democratizing Soviet society and asserting general humanitarian principles in international relations.

In this connection the guests' attention was drawn to the processes of the renewal of all aspects of life in the USSR and the concept of the new thinking. It was stressed that the public in various countries must promote the strengthening of general humanitarian norms in relations among people, which is a task for both foreign and domestic policy.

Taking part in the conversation were V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and A.Ya. Sukharev, chairman of the Association of Soviet Jurists and USSR Prosecutor General.

On the same day A.I. Lukyanov received L. Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency.

During the friendly conversation the sides expressed satisfaction at the regular nature of political dialogue and the high level of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which is developing dynamically in the spirit of the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in March 1988. It was stressed that parliamentary and social contacts play a not unimportant role in the improvement of bilateral relations.

The Yugoslav guest was informed about the course of restructuring and the transformations being implemented in Soviet society in accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

United States & Canada

Reagan 'National Holiday' Greeting Published

PM1711160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Ronald Reagan undated message to M.S. Gorbachev on the USSR's national holiday and the anniversary of Soviet-U.S. diplomatic relations]

[Text] To His Excellency M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Esteemed Mr Chairman,

On behalf of the American people I congratulate the peoples of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the USSR's national holiday. I also note that the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our governments falls this month. In connection with these two important events I would like to assure you that the United States expects the constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union to continue with a view to a further strengthening of the foundations we have laid for the improvement of relations between our two countries.

Respectfully,

Ronald Reagan

Reagan Meeting With FRG Chancellor Reported

PM1711134988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Talks in Washington"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Nov—East-West relations and questions of arms limitation and strengthening security in Europe were the central issues on the agenda of Helmut Kohl's 1-day visit to Washington Tuesday.

At a meeting between the chancellor and the U.S. President in the White House both sides, according to R. Reagan, agreed that recently "important progress has been made in East-West relations, although there is still a great deal to be done" in such areas as arms limitation, settlement of regional conflicts, and human rights. In his turn, the federal chancellor pointed out that any deterioration in East-West relations would be a serious shock to the FRG.

After the talks Chancellor H. Kohl gave a news conference. He welcomed M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to New York. I believe, H. Kohl said, that the restructuring policy begun in the Soviet Union is useful and on this there are no differences of opinion within NATO. The chancellor emphasized that at the talks in Washington the United States and the FRG had confirmed their intention to continue "further vigorous progress in disarmament and arms control." Kohl expressed the belief that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is "an important achievement and that we must continue to follow this path." In this connection the leader of the FRG stressed the need for a successful conclusion to the Vienna CSCE meeting, progress at which was discussed at the talks in the White House. At the same time, H. Kohl said, in order to defend "our freedom and our security" NATO will have to rely on U.S. conventional and nuclear armed forces.

Kohl said that he had informed the U.S. side of the results of his recent visit to Moscow. The chancellor stressed his intention to continue dialogue with the Soviet leadership. In this connection he indicated the great significance of M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming official visit to the FRG. We will sign a document in Bonn, Kohl said, that will affect a whole series of issues. At the same time, the chancellor pointed out that "a number of contradictions and differences of opinion" will remain between the FRG and the USSR. During the talks in Moscow, Kohl continued, "we singled out many problems on which we can negotiate."

The FRG chancellor had a separate conversation with Vice President G. Bush, U.S. president-elect, and thereby became the first foreign leader to have a meeting with him in this capacity. During the conversation, which took place at the official residence of the vice president, attention was also mainly focused on the questions of disarmament and the situation in NATO.

Bush To Receive New Strategic Operations Plan

PM1711144788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 1

[Political Observer Grigoriy Oganov article under the rubric "Political Paradoxes": "Pentagon Black Mass"]

[Text] Toward the end of the 3d week of January the 41st president of the United States, having been sworn in and having listened to the tuneful but tiring playing of the military brass bands, will embark on his presidential duties. But the new president will be met on the threshold of the Oval Office in the White House by four- and five-star generals and ranking Pentagon staffers who will hand him a gold-embossed leather folder containing the "Single Integrated Operations Plan" [SIOP]—a top-secret document and a sort of gift from the military department to the new head of state, who is simultaneously supreme commander in chief and, as a rule, does not forget it.

I have no doubt that the president will find this document an absorbing read....

SIOP is not the first U.S. plan for a "large-scale war" presented to the head of the U.S. Administration by specialists from the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and the CIA. Hundreds and thousands of people in these and other government institutions in the country sweat blood to compile,

collate, and coordinate with numerous "interested parties" such plans and scenarios for a terrible global clash between the great powers heading the two opposing military-political groupings.

There are usually several versions of such documents: a short version setting out the main concept, doctrine, and procedure for U.S. entry into a military conflict, its strategic tasks and intentions, the main mission of its armed forces, and the means of achieving it; a more detailed version examining the political circumstances behind the emergence of a possible conflict and hypothetical scenarios for its development, as well as means of conducting the war and proposed timeframes at all stages of hostilities; and, finally, a large, detailed operations plan (running into several volumes) for the deployment of all branches of U.S. Armed Forces, featuring maps, graphs, tables, predictions, and so forth.

From time to time in connection with the development of the international situation and changes in the sides' military-economic and military-technical potentials these strategic plans are revised and obsolete plans are replaced by more "up-to-date" versions. This review is carried out by the Joint Strategic Planning Group set up in 1960; the U.S. military department's first integrated operations plan was drawn up for President John Kennedy. When President Ronald Reagan assumed office he was presented with the sixth plan.

The current Pentagon "gift" is now the seventh war plan. As we can see, the Pentagon "top brass" have been busy....

Reporting this, the usually well-informed NEW YORK TIMES in the shape of its observer Richard Halloran calls the plan the "most major review of methods of waging nuclear war under conditions when new weapons systems are appearing in modern military arsenals and the nature of goals is changing...."

The newspaper goes on to cite "particularly inspiring" details. It transpires that the current operations plan envisages the possibility of the President choosing from among several dozen options—from individual nuclear strikes against the territory of the Soviet Union and its allies to a protracted nuclear war and devastating repeated retaliatory strikes. General John Chain, head of Strategic Air Command, proudly claims that the plan has been worked out on the basis of an increased volume of intelligence, and that the U.S. nuclear arsenal has now reached 13,000 strategic nuclear warheads.

The Pentagon strategists promise to continue building up the arsenal of powerful strategic missiles—particularly the Trident system. Currently the U.S. Navy has 20 submarines carrying 384 missiles, each of which is equipped with 10 nuclear warheads.

The first report since the elections on how the new White House incumbent will begin his activity is causing definite confusion. It is, to put it mildly, not very consonant either with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles concluded by the USSR and the United States, or with the talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear weapons.

Nor is this Pentagon black mass in keeping with common sense.

Murakhovskiy Receives Pepsico Chairman

LD0911185788 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—The chairman of the Soviet State Agro-Industrial Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vsevolod Murakhovskiy received today the chairman of Pepsico's Executive Board, Donald Kendall.

They examined results of cooperation over the past years and discussed a number of specific directions in broadening and deepening trade and economic ties.

The meeting was held in a business-like atmosphere and was of a constructive character.

Arbatov Interviewed on U.S.-USSR Relations

LD1711100688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Interview with Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by commentator Igor Charikov, on "The USSR and the United States: From Confrontation to Mutual Understanding" program; time, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Charikov] I would like to know your opinion on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations, say, today. By today I mean in the broad sense.

[Arbatov] You know, I think that we are now going through a very important and responsible period in Soviet-U.S. relations. You know, it is hard to say the crucial word, last, about attempt or chance, but I think that perhaps history does not give us very many opportunities or chances to find a way out of the dark, and the time is coming when it really will be the last chance; because events could go out of control, for many reasons—because of conflicts in third countries, by chance involving weapons. You know, this is a fact. Take a modern nuclear submarine. On board are 24 U.S. Tridents, say, 24 missiles with 10 warheads on each—240 heavy nuclear missiles, think—240 towns. And how many people deal with the question of whether to fire or not? Just two. Everything could turn out fine a thousand times over—but a time will come when things could end badly.

Other difficulties are worrying. We know that nobody is insured against error, against making incorrect appraisals of the actions of the other side. Both we and the Americans and, in the end, there are many other countries in the world that are also coming close—there are also other nuclear powers. But many are emerging; an even greater number are also getting nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery. And then nuclear war is not the only way of committing suicide. There is also ecological catastrophe and many other ways of finding oneself in very serious difficulties.

Then there is economic strength in general. The arms race has drained us very much, but it seems to me that even the richest country in the world, the United States, has been very seriously drained.

[Charikov] Incidentally, the very same idea was expressed here in Moscow recently by Professor Galbraith, he said exactly the same, in effect.

[Arbatov] Well, there's no doubt about it, you understand. During Reagan's rule the Americans have spent $2.2 trillion on military needs. Over the same period they have become the world's biggest creditor, [as heard] the biggest debtor. The deficit has also become chronic and all that. It is now the first problem for the new Bush administration, and a very serious problem. The overall situation is such that it has to be solved and I think perhaps it is an historically important achievement that we have understood this and that the new political thinking has been born. This does not mean attempts by us to establish a monopoly on correct ideas. No, there are very many ideas that were expressed before this, starting with the exchange of letters between Russell and Einstein. But it is the first time that these ideas, nurtured by the great academics and public figures, also born over here and reproducing certain old Marxist-Leninist truths as they apply to the contemporary situation, all this has become the foreign policy platform of a great power. And this is a very important turnabout.

So it turned out that this, plus objective economic circumstances, plus the influence of allies, started to turn U.S. policy around, too. It started with the very bellicose revival of an extremely sharp cold war, following a brief period of detente, and started to turn once more to dialogue, to normalization via these meetings, the four summit meetings, and the first agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons, albeit a small amount of them, just 4 percent. But all this is a very important event, and it is now a window of opportunity. When a rocket is being launched to a far planet, there is only a certain window when you can do this and then it cannot be done for a long time. Sometimes it is a very long time. With Halley's comet it is more than 70 years. It is like that here too. At the moment the window of opportunity is open and it is very important to make use of that. Our foreign policy is directed toward this.

[Charikov] In that sense, Georgiy Arkadiyevich, I would like to know your opinion about what we should expect, on a positive level, from the next administration—George Bush's administration. That's the first question, and the second also concerns Bush. I know you have met him repeatedly as U.S. vice president and perhaps also in other capacities. What is your personal appraisal of this man as a politician?

[Arbatov] Perhaps I'll start with the second question. I met Bush for the first time when he was U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. I met him several times after that and I met him a couple of times when he was vice president. You know, I can't say that I had any conversations going into any great depth with him which would have enabled me to get any kind of full impression of the man, but he is without doubt an experienced politician, he has particularly diverse experience in foreign policy. He was CIA director and ambassador to the PRC and ambassador to the United Nations and U.S. vice president. He is without doubt a clever man, he has had a good education, he is composed, calm, conservative, not an extremist, not extremely conservative, but conservative.

However, he has yet to demonstrate the most important of his qualities. You know, according to my observations the difference between the number two man and the top man in any country—in position—is a great deal larger than that between the number two man and, say, number 3,000. The transfer is so very important, even for a person very close, so to speak, to the helm of the ship of state, to being the person who has to make the final decision and take full responsibility for it. And here Bush has still to prove himself. He has an excellent chance, an excellent chance. He could be the U.S. president who goes down in history as the president who, together with the leadership of the Soviet Union, and in conjunction with other leaders, put an end to the cold war and opened up a new era in the history of international relations. We will see whether Bush uses this chance or not.

As for the question about prospects, I would say that in effect we have succeeded in smashing the fresh bout of the cold war that started at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties over the last 3 or 3 and ½ years. We have now reached a point where in order to go on normalizing the situation we have to touch on the very foundation of the postwar structure in international and Soviet-U.S. relations. That is, are we going to view each other as the main enemy, is this structure going to be the structure of the cold war, or will we move onto another, will we base our security not on the fear of nuclear weapons, on the other side's fear of nuclear weapons, but on international law, on the United Nations, on cooperation, on accord, on disarmament, and so on? This will indeed be a difficult transition. In the United States I also know of a big coalition—not only of people on the far right, but of generally moderate people—which fears this transition, they are afraid to take the next step. There is a whole generation, after all,

of politicians who have been brought up under cold war conditions and on cold war. And we have to combat them. But I hope, I think we can do a very great deal, together with others, of course—we are not alone on the world scene, we are not alone in the United States—to accelerate these processes.

You know, in particular restructuring and the new political thinking are an immense contribution to the preservation of peace. The entire cold war structure of which I spoke can only exist where there is an enemy, and we are now doing the most terrifying thing that can be done to the Americans and to the supporters of the Americans in all that is bad in the cold war—we are depriving them of an enemy. You know, an acquaintance of mine compared this to a game of tug-of-war. Imagine—one side takes up the rope and drops it, what happens to the other side?

[Charikov] They fall.

[Arbatov] They fall. Of course, it is not so simple. There still remains responsibility for national security, and so on. But with our policy we are now fairly successfully eroding the image of the enemy and the whole politico-psychological structure of the cold war. So I would say that there are grounds not to be taken in by illusions, but to look more optimistically on the future than we were able to do some time ago.

[Charikov] Thank you very much.

Space Research Protocol Signed With U.S.

LD1111132888 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Berezhkov reports:

The protocol on the second meeting of the Soviet-American solar system exploration working group, signed here at the headquarters of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), is an important event in the development of space cooperation between the two countries. The meeting was held at the American capital on November 4-10 in keeping with the Soviet-American agreement on peaceful exploration and use of outer space, concluded in Moscow in April 1987.

Samuel Keller, a NASA spokesman, has particularly noted among the meeting's concrete results the finalization of preparations for joint trackings of the Soviet "Phobos-2" space vehicle, the reached agreement to coordinate scientific cooperation between the two countries on the "Phobos" project, as well as on the American "Vesta", "Mars Observer" and "Magellan" projects, and the agreement on concrete mechanisms to exchange scientific information on their findings. The sides also discussed questions related to the search for the most suitable landing spots on Mars, exchanged data on the exploration of Venus and also samples of space dust and lunar soil. Soviet scientists invited the American colleagues to take part in their program of scientific space launchings up to the year 2000, to mount their research instruments on the vehicles involved.

"Last year we were able to make appreciable progress", Academician Valeriy Barsukov, co-chairman of the joint working group, director of the Vernadskiy Geochemistry and Analytic Chemistry Institute (GEOCHE), stated at a press conference here. "We are now nearing an understanding that it is necessary to pool efforts in developing sophisticated instruments and new means for studying the solar system, are considering the possibility of carrying out future joint projects and flights. All this is now possible because both sides have displayed maximum goodwill and a desire to work hand in hand."

Geoffrey Briggs, director of the solar system planets study department, said that the meeting was extremely productive. He noted that both sides had prepared for it thoroughly and worked constructively during the session, that this held out promise for even better results in the future.

The Soviet-American joint solar system exploration working group have agreed to hold their third meeting in the USSR in the Autumn of 1989.

China

Li Peng on 'Normalization' of Sino-Soviet Ties

LD1711141988 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Canberra November 17 TASS—"We hope for the earliest normalization and development of goodneigbourly relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence," Li Peng, visiting premier of China's State Council, said at a meeting in the Australian National Press Club today.

"We are supporting perestroyka (restructuring) in the Soviet Union, because we think that it lies within the interests of the Soviet people. Reforms are also under way in China and many other socialist countries as well. Therefore, we have every reason to welcome Soviet reforms. As for the prospects of their success, like any reform, they are going to encounter difficulties, although these obstacles may be more serious than ours," Li Peng said.

The Soviet Union and China are neighbours and the length of their common border is 7,000 kilometres. The normalization of relations between the two countries will be in the interests of peace in the region. China is a developing country engaged in building socialist economy which requires a stable and peaceful international environment.

"We hope that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will make them ever more friendly, although they will never be as good as in the 1950s," Li Peng said.

He pointed out that the development of Chinese-Soviet relations would not affect China's links with Western countries and added that China's relations with the Soviet Union were lagging behind its relations with the West.

Zhao: Reforms Must Continue Despite Problems

PM1711111488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by Zhao Ziyang"]

[Text] Beijing, 15 Nov—We cannot abandon reforms because of the difficulties that have arisen. We can only cope with those difficulties by pushing ahead with the reforms. To all intents and purposes we are already working in this direction. This was stated today by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, at a meeting with President Ahmed Abdullah Abderemane of the Comoros, who is on a visit here.

Currently, Zhao Ziyang said, we are encountering the problem of inflation, but the reforms have not been halted. The socialist countries should implement reforms, otherwise the advantages of the socialist system will not be fully realized.

Turning to the current international situation, the CPC leader noted that the trend toward detente that has currently appeared in the world is to a considerable extent the result of efforts by many medium-sized and small countries to ensure world peace. The "era of great-power domination in world affairs is over," Zhao Ziyang said. "The vast majority of small and medium-sized countries are playing an increasingly important role in the international arena."

The Chinese leader reemphasized that the strengthening of unity and cooperation with "Third World" countries is an important component of PRC foreign policy. He expressed China's readiness to make a worthy contribution to the cause of world peace and development.

Women's Committee Chairman on China Visit

OW1711074788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] During an interview with this station's reporter after her visit to China, Pukhova, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women, said: The enthusiasm of the Soviet Union and China for reform and the series of problems they both are striving to solve are very similar. It opens up the way to broad possibilities for exchanging experiences and for cooperation between women's organizations of the two countries.

The Soviet women's delegation visited a series of industrial and agricultural enterprises in Beijing, Chengdu, and Xiamen. The members of the delegation had a better understanding of the working and living conditions of Chinese women. They visited schools, kindergartens, and families.

Chen Muhua, president of the All-China Women's Federation, received the Soviet women's delegation. The women's organizations of the Soviet Union and China reached an agreement on expanding contacts and on cooperation between the editorial departments of the (Soviet Women's Pictorial) [?SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA] and the (CHINESE WOMEN'S MAGAZINE), and discussed the possibility of establishing direct contacts between women's organizations in coastal and border areas.

A new meeting between the delegates of the Soviet women's organization and their Chinese counterparts will be held next year.

Paper Reports PRC Agricultural Conference

PM1711161188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 3

[TASS report: "It Will Affect the Harvest"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Nov—"Supplying the country's population with provisions, grain, and foodstuffs is the most important task of the PRC's agricultural workers. It is particularly acute this year." Statements of this kind were perhaps dominant in many speeches by those taking part in the all-China conference on agricultural questions which has ended in Beijing. These conferences are held annually.

The present conference, the Chinese mass media and those taking part note, "has had several features and a specific character." The first thing on which attention is focused is the fact that all speakers mentioned problems of grain procurement, and the bringing in of the 1988 harvest, with great concern and alarm. An example was the concluding speech delivered at the conference by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, who noted the existence of a number of problems and difficulties caused by natural disasters this year.

Because of the raging elements an extremely unfavorable harvest situation exists throughout the country as a whole this year. The heavy drought struck 18 provinces and regions of China. It was mainly the regions of the middle and lower reaches of the Yangzi river, which are essentially the main grain producers, that suffered. The summer harvest plan was not fulfilled. And that despite the fact that sown areas were increased by 640,000 hectares in comparison with last year.

Northeast Asia

Mongolia's Foreign Minister Gombsuren Interviewed

Soviet Troops, Ties With China

PM1711163588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Account of interview with Mongolian Foreign Minister Ts. Gombsuren by TASS Political Observer Yu. Kornilov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: " 'The Foundations of Security Are Strengthening Everywhere'"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, Nov—...The conversation turned to the experience of people in Irkutsk, who supplied each enterprise with its own "ecological passport" and then, having summed up the data thus produced, managed to find clear-cut ways to improve the ecological situation in the city. What a subject to discuss with a foreign minister, you might think! But my interlocutor, Ts. Gombsuren, has absolutely no intention of abandoning the topic he has raised. He said that Mongolia actively seeks to utilize and develop all innovations that emerge in the Soviet Union relating to environmental protection. He reminded me that Mongolia has placed the cause of environmental protection on a planned state footing, having set up a special Ministry for Protection of Nature and the Environment. The current nationwide discussion of a law on protection of mineral resources in the Mongolian People's Republic is further proof of the serious attention paid to ecological problems in the country.

"Ecological problems now perturb millions of people, including people in Asian countries," the minister said. "Many of these problems can be successfully resolved only if states act together. This is why I think that a vital and urgent task is to pool the efforts of Asian countries in the struggle for ecological well-being in the region."

The region of which the minister is speaking is vast, stretching from Canberra to Vladivostok, from Hanoi to Singapore. Is it possible today to identify any general political trends typical of all countries in the region? "Yes, such trends do exist, and they are, primarily, the growing political activeness of the majority of Asian-Pacific states in world affairs, their growing resolve to eliminate seats of tension, and their desire to advance and consolidate the cause of pan-Asian security," the minister said. "As far as Mongolia is concerned, it welcomes this healthy and certainly very promising process, and it actively supports the large-scale Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his Krasnoyarsk speech. In our view, special topicality and importance attach to the Soviet call not to site additional nuclear weapons in the Asian-Pacific region and to seek to lower military confrontation in the regions where the coastlines of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea come together. Some time ago Mongolia put forward the well-known proposal to create a mechanism ruling out the very possibility of using force in relations between Asian and Pacific states. Our country is in favor of convening an authoritative forum of representatives of the Asian countries' parliaments, so that the problems of Asian security could be discussed at an even broader forum of the Asian public."

[Kornilov] The solution of problems of Asian security is unimaginable without the participation of a great power like the PRC. What can be said in this context about Beijing's stance, and about the present state and future prospects of Mongolian-Chinese relations?

[Gombsuren] We note with profound satisfaction the improvement of relations between the PRC and the USSR. The forthcoming exchange of visits by the foreign ministers of the two great socialist powers will be a new page in the development of these relations and an important stage along the path toward a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. I do not advocate prophecies in politics, but I must say that if such a meeting does take place—and all the indications are that it will—it will certainly be the most important political event of 1989.

As for Mongolian-Chinese relations, I can say that there has been marked progress here, too. Visits were exchanged in the recent past by parliamentary and trade union delegations, and the process of restoring party ties has begun. Cooperation has been resumed and is developing in the scientific, technical, cultural, sports, and other spheres as well. Preparations are under way to sign a border regime treaty.

[Kornilov] What could you say about the Soviet troops that are temporarily in the Mongolian People's Republic?

[Gombsuren] Some of these troops were withdrawn last year. This was the start of the process. In principle, both we and you are convinced that no troops ought to be stationed anywhere in the world outside their national borders. But this is, of course, an ideal whose achievement demands the appropriate political will, and considerable effort. In my view, the specific problem in question could be examined, with, of course, due consideration for the specific political, historical, and other factors which created this problem. In this context I would note that Beijing is perfectly well aware that the Soviet troops did not enter the Mongolian People's Republic of their own accord, but were introduced at the request of the Mongolian Government, which at that time had every reason to believe that it was necessary to take additional measures to strengthen the security of our borders. Consequently, it is the Mongolian Government and it alone that is entitled to decide the question of a possible withdrawal or nonwithdrawal of Soviet troops from our country's territory and to make the appropriate approach to the Soviet side. This question is the prerogative of the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR.

[Kornilov] The Mongolian People's Republic established diplomatic relations with the United States for the first time in early 1987. How are these relations developing?

[Gombsuren] Successfully, on the whole. A Mongolian-U.S. protocol on scientific cooperation has already been signed, and coordination of of agreements on cultural exchange and on a consular convention are next in the pipeline. Political contacts have also been established: My predecessor and I have had two meetings with the U.S. secretary of state at the United Nations, and had an opportunity to discuss problems of mutual interest. All this ought to be perceived as a highly positive process, as further proof that differences in sociopolitical systems are in no way obstacles to cooperation, provided both sides have the desire to develop such cooperation. [Gombsuren ends]

...The minister looked at his watch: The time allocated for the interview was running out. One last question: We are approaching the end of 1988—what was the most important entry in this year's international annals? "I think that the most important, the paramount result of the year is that, despite all the difficulties and obstacles, the new political thinking and the cause of real nuclear disarmament are confidently making headway," Ts. Gombsuren said. "And this breeds confidence that the foundations of security and peace will continue to strengthen everywhere, including here in Asia."

Notes Afghan Problem

LD1711183088 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar November 17 TASS—"Mongolia declares for the convocation of an authoritative forum of representatives of parliaments of Asian countries, for the discussion of problems of Asian security at a broad forum of Asian public," said Tserenpiliin Gombsuren, Mongolia's foreign minister. In an interview to TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov, he said that the Mongolian People's Republic views its national security as being connected directly with ensurance of Asian security.

Mongolia strongly supports scopeful Soviet initiatives advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Krasnoyarsk, said Tserenpiliin Gombsuren. The minister holds that of special topicality and importance is the Soviet call not to deploy additionally nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region and to press for the lowering of military confrontation in areas where there is a little space between the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea.

Regarding Soviet troops staying in Mongolia, the minister noted that part of these troops was withdrawn last year. This is the beginning of the process, he said. It should be noted in this connection that the Beijing circles are excellently aware of the fact that Soviet troops came into Mongolia not of their own accord, but were brought there at the request of the Mongolian Government which at that period had every ground to think that additional measures for the protection of the security of the Monogolian borders are needed, the minister said. Hence it is precisely the Mongolian Government and it alone that has a right to decide the question of possible withdrawal or non-withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Mongolian territory and address the Soviet side in this connection.

Mongolia's foreign minister criticized Washington's stand with regard to the Afghan problem. Grossly flouting the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, Washington and Islamabad increase military supplies to the armed Afghan opposition which makes no secret of its plans to seize power in Afghanistan, he said. When the Soviet Union, in connection with these essentially aggressive actions helps Afghanistan strengthen its defences, they in Washington raise an uproar to make gullible people believe that it is not Pakistan and the USA, but the USSR that undermines the Geneva Accords. "Such a double standard in the approach to an important and acute problem as the Afghan one, does nothing to enhance our trust, and that of other people, in the actions of those circles in the USA that shape this anti-Afghan course," the minister said.

Japan 'Waiting' on Krasnoyarsk Proposals

PM1611105588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Bunin article: "Invitation to Dialogue. The Krasnoyarsk Appeal Was Also Addressed to Japan. Was It Heard There?"]

[Text] Fall 1988 has been marked by the multipolarity of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It is hard to disagree with those observers who call the present season in Moscow a "European fall," bearing in mind the recent series of visits to the Soviet capital by a number of leaders of European states. Nevertheless I would not be so categorical, but would also single out the Asian aspect of the Soviet Union's diplomatic activity.

The package of Krasnoyarsk initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev 16 September is of lasting significance not only for improving the situation in Asia but also for the global complex of international relations. And this is no coincidence. The Krasnoyarsk speech was an organic continuation of the Soviet program for creating an all-embracing comprehensive system of equal security for all states in Asia which was advanced in Vladivostok 2 years ago. During this time the trend toward improving the situation, setting up good-neighborly relations, and ensuring the security of the peoples living there has been clearly manifested in the Asia and Pacific region.

The Soviet Union has started up a dialogue with many countries in the region, at the highest level as well. By 1991 not a single intermediate-range or shorter-range

missile will remain in the Asian part of the USSR. Measures have been taken unilaterally to limit the activity of the Soviet Pacific Fleet. The number of large-scale military exercises has been reduced. Many countries of the region have joined in the process of nuclear disarmament. Thus, in accordance with the Rarotonga Treaty, the South Pacific has been proclaimed a nuclear-free zone. The question of creating a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia was discussed at the July 1987 conference of the ASEAN countries' foreign ministers. There are growing demands for the Korean Peninsula to be rid of nuclear weapons. Positive changes have become apparent in the processes of settling conflict situations on the Asian Continent. Thus the Vladivostok system has proved its effectiveness and competency.

Nevertheless, the following also cannot fail to be noted. The treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, despite its uniqueness, has not eliminated the nuclear danger in the Asia and Pacific region. Naval and nuclear missile confrontation in the Northwest Pacific remains. What is more, the Pentagon is continuing to build up its military presence in the region and to display military strength during numerous maneuvers and exercises.

These and other facts attest that U.S. conduct in the Asia and Pacific region is becoming increasingly hard-line. And the policy of the closest U.S. ally in Asia—Japan—is contributing to this in no small measure. Clearly, and to the detriment of national interests, N. Takeshita's cabinet is doggedly pursuing a policy of closely coordinating its plans for building the armed forces with U.S. military doctrines. While verbally campaigning for a breakthrough in the sphere of Japanese-Soviet relations, the Japanese leaders are at the same time continuing to link this issue with the "territorial problem"—which is slowing up the establishment of mutually advantageous ties between our countries.

The Soviet Union evaluates highly the movement which has developed in the Japanese islands to declare individual cities, settlements, and prefectures nuclear-free zones (there are already more than 1,000 of them). The provision of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which proclaimed "the renunciation of war and arms for all time," is also unique. The country operates a ban on arms exports, which assumes special significance in a situation where the flywheel of the weapons trade is gathering momentum on a global scale. True, an exception has been made here for Washington. Starting in 1988, Tokyo has been supplying the Pentagon with new products of its highly complex military technology. Accords have been reached recently between Japanese and U.S. military circles on the joint production for the Japanese Air Force of new-generation FSX fighters based on the U.S. F-16 fighter-bomber and air defense missiles. Until 1987 the government principle of voluntarily limiting military spending to "1 percent of GNP" was actively applied. This year, however, Japan's military spending (calculated at the present dollar exchange rate) totaled $29.1 billion and thus exceeded that limit. Approximately $31 billion has been requested for fiscal 1989.

Justifying the need for such a huge amount for comparatively small armed forces, officials of the military department—the Japan Defense Agency—usually refer to inflation, the high cost of the electronic equipment needed to modernize the army, and the fact that almost half the sum allocated is spent on maintaining a hired army. However, this circumstance can in no way serve as a weighty argument to justify the increasing militarist trends in the country. Speaking in Krasnoyarsk, M.S. Gorbachev remarked in this connection: "The Japanese appear to have proved that in the modern world it is possible to attain the status of a great power without relying on militarism. The question naturally arises: Why discredit this unique experience, which is so instructive for all mankind?"

As is known, unlike Europe, where a definite system of military confidence-building measures exists, in the Asia and Pacific region there is no such mechanism to control the military situation in the area and to help strengthen all-Asian security. This is why an appeal resounded from Krasnoyarsk to discuss at any level and with any number of participants the question of creating a negotiating mechanism to examine Soviet and any other initiatives aimed at lowering tension in the Asia and Pacific region. Japan, too, could put forward its constructive view here, being interested, in particular, in stabilizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula.

Other points in the Krasnoyarsk initiatives are also important for Japan, which claims the status of a nuclear-free power and shows heightened concern for the security of its very far-flung sea communications, on which its life support and survival are wholly dependent. For example: The Soviet Union's pledge not to increase the number of nuclear weapons in the region, and the appeal to the United States to follow its example; the invitation to the chief naval powers to hold consultations on preventing a buildup of naval forces in the Asia and Pacific region, and reducing naval confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, the PRC, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea are close to each other.

It is only possible to conjecture what an important positive role the Japanese leadership would play if, given good will, it were to respond to the Soviet Union's appeal for cooperation in resolving the problems of ecological pollution that threaten the region, in preserving and developing national traditions, and in the struggle against natural disasters.

A big response was elicited by the package of measures set forth in Krasnoyarsk and designed to lend dynamism to the USSR's foreign economic ties with the states of the Asia and Pacific region, including Japan and the new industrial countries and territories.

Contrary to logic, Tokyo is playing a waiting game. People there speak of doubts as to the feasibility of implementing the Soviet initiatives. And yet, in advancing them, the Soviet Union does not claim that they are the gospel truth. It has invited partners, including Japan, to a serious dialogue. Simple denial of the views expressed by the USSR can hardly ensure progress in this difficult matter. And it does not accord with the national security interests of Japan itself.

Joint Soviet-Japanese Chemical Plant Planned

PM1611135588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by engineer V. Kotov: "And the Flares Will Go Out"]

[Text] As has already been reported, an agreement on the creation of a joint enterprise in West Siberia—the Nizhnevartovsk Chemical Complex—has been signed in Moscow between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Japanese Mitsubishi Corporation. The total cost of the project is estimated at $5 billion.

I remembered a picture I once saw in KROKODIL: a giant industrial processing plant, a pipe with a flare—but instead of a flame there were men's shirts flying away into the unknown. Synthetic shirts, one would suppose. That is how the artist saw the raw materials, which could be used to benefit society, lost to absolutely no purpose. A somewhat simplified view, but he had grasped the essence of the matter correctly.

Where do these flares burn? Wherever oil is extracted and refined. The gases which accompany oil and consist of the light fractions of hydrocarbon compounds are burned. And where the artist had only enough imagination for shirts, for the specialist chemist this means millions of square meters of film, thousands of tons of the most modern polymer materials and raw materials for their production, and construction and compound materials, all burning irretrievably. But so far all the above is but a game of imagination, too. In reality there are flares. Real flares, which consume annually over 10 billion cubic meters of gas. It is this gas which will be the raw material for the 15 plants making up the Nizhnevartovsk Chemical Complex. The giant's planned capacity is 1 million tonnes of polymers a year.

The need for these materials is felt even now. Even taking into account supplies from abroad, the chemical industry is covering only half the existing need. The assimilation of the raw material base of Nizhnevartovsk alone will fully satisfy demand, and even make it possible to take the surplus onto the world market. The 30 percent of the polymers which are planned to be sold through the Mitsubishi trade network will pay off currency expenses within 5-6 years, and then begin to provide a profit.

The construction is raising many problems. Sand, crushed stone, stones—everything has to be brought in! In this situation, especially considering the harsh climatic conditions of West Siberia, a large construction project can take many years. Modular construction is the way out. As yet this is a unique project for large-scale chemical enterprises. Only the foundations of the production facilities which are being created will be erected on the spot, and communications will be provided. The plants themselves, in the form of ready-made modular structures, will be produced in other regions. Then they will be delivered to the installation site.

Preceding the installation of the main production facilities, a modern social infrastructure will be created, including apartment blocks for the construction workers and future personnel and a network of service and cultural institutions.

According to calculations, the fulfillment of the entire program for the creation of the Nizhnevartovsk Chemical Complex will be completed within 10-15 years. But the first output will be obtained as early as 1992. Along with the production of construction polymers the plants will produce consumer goods—plastic articles, chemical fibers, lacquers, and paints.

A course has been steered toward the most modern level of technology. It is planned that other Japanese, U.S., and West European firms will be enlisted to implement the project. Preference will be given to those firms that can guarantee the ecological cleanliness of production and are ready to take part in long-term economic relations.

North Korean Premier Proposes North-South Talks

PM1711160988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Offer"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 16 Nov—Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council, today put to the South Korean side a proposal to hold high-level North-South military-political talks.

KCNA has reported that the letter which he sent to South Korean Prime Minister Yi Hyon-chae together with the text of the DPRK's recent initiatives emphasizes that, in once again proposing talks to the South, the North is taking into account the changed situation on the Korean Peninsula.

The document points out that high-level military-political talks would not only have a positive impact on interparliamentary contacts and on dialogue through other channels, but would also make it possible to pave the way to a top-level meeting.

Shevardnadze Receives DPRK Deputy Minister

PM1711114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 16 November Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, received Yi In-kyu, deputy foreign minister of the Democratic People's Republican of Korea, staying in Moscow on a visit as head of a delegation of the Foreign Ministry of People's Korea.

The sides discussed urgent questions of developing further bilateral relations and expanding interaction between the two countries in the international arena.

Eduard Shevardnadze called attention of the Korean deputy foreign minister to the main provisions of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, which proposed an extensive program of practical actions aimed at setting up mutually advantageous cooperation among all Asian states. Yi In-kyu said that People's Korea fully backed Soviet steps aimed at preventing a nuclear war and strengthening peace all over the world.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, the initiatives put forth by People's Korea on November 7, which provide for cutting armed forces of the north and south with a simultaneous stage-by-stage withdrawal of U.S troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea and other constructive measures, could be a sound ground for a dialogue on questions of detente in the Korean Peninsula. Their realization would contribute both to a peaceful unification of Korea and a lower level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The talks were held in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

DRPK Foreign Minister Sends Letter to Shultz

LD1711054888 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Pyongyang November 16 TASS—Kim Yong-nam, deputy premier of the Administrative Council and minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the instruction of a joint session of the Central People's Committee, the Permanent Council of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Administrative Council of North Korea, THE KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY reported today.

Local observers called attention to the fact that the letter had been sent simultaneously with another one, sent by Yi Kun-mo, premier of the Administrative Council of North Korea, to Yi Hyon-chae, prime minister of South Korea, which suggested that talks be held for the purpose of reducing confrontation in the Korean peninsula.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Interviewed on Settlement

PM1711182188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Hun Sen, member of the KPRP (Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party) Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and PRK minister of foreign affairs, by own correspondent P. Tsvetov under the rubric "Our Interviews": "Hun Sen: 'Thanks to the Policy of National Reconciliation We Have Managed to Switch From Military Confrontation to Negotiations'"—date not given, first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As reported earlier, Hun Sen, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and PRK foreign minister, has stopped over in Moscow en route for home. Our correspondent P. Tsvetov has interviewed him.

[Tsvetov] Comrade Hun Sen, you have come to Moscow after a meeting in France with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and former prime minister Son Sann. How do you assess the results of that meeting?

[Hun Sen] This was my third meeting with Sihanouk in France. In the summer of this year an informal meeting of representatives of the four Cambodian sides, the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the ASEAN countries was held in Jakarta. A framework for a settlement emerged in the course of the talks held at that time. First, it is necessary to mention the understanding reached on the linkage between the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia and the pledge not to permit the restoration of the Pol Pot regime and to stop external aid to the opposition. Although we have not managed to achieve major results at the latest meeting, it is important that the discussion of specific problems pertaining to a settlement has begun. Of special importance is the accord on setting up a working commission to study all the options for a political solution to the Cambodian issue as a whole. In this way a forum of the Cambodian sides will be established to discuss internal aspects of the settlement. Obviously these aspects cannot be resolved by foreign states; they are a matter for the Cambodian people themselves.

Although the "Khmer Rouge" did not take part in the negotiations and have not agreed to participate in the working commission, we have left the door wide open for them and their leader such as Khieu Samphan, for instance, and we are inviting them to join the talks (this offer does not extend to Pol Pot and his closest associates).

[Tsvetov] More than a year has passed since the PRK Government's proclamation of the national reconciliation policy. What are the results of that policy?

[Hun Sen] It is, clearly, precisely thanks to the national reconciliation course that we have managed to switch from military confrontation to negotiations. Pursuing this line, we have held talks with Sihanouk, who has been joined by Son Sann. Tension has subsided not only in Cambodia itself but throughout Southeast Asia. Almost all the countries of the region met in Jakarta this summer.

Thanks to the new political course we have laid the foundations for progress toward national accord. Examples of the effectiveness of this approach can be cited. More and more soldiers from hostile groupings are realizing their mistake and switching to the side of people's power. Cambodians living abroad have gained confidence in our government and are seeking to join the process of national reconciliation. The material, moral, and political assistance from Cambodian emigres to their motherland has increased over the past year. Those who want to contribute to the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation include not only ordinary Cambodians but also prominent figures from former regimes. Thanks to its proclaimed course, the PRK is gaining increasing support from other countries and its prestige in the international arena is growing.

[Tsvetov] The 10th anniversary of the PRK falls on 7 January next year. How are the Cambodian people preparing to mark this anniversary?

[Hun Sen] Our party views the 10th anniversary of the PRK's proclamation as an important event which should mobilize the masses to achieve new successes in strengthening the people's power and in economic and cultural building. We are preparing to celebrate this anniversary with concrete deeds. The working people have launched a competition in an effort to meet all targets. The main spheres of activity are: strengthening the forces necessary to defend the revolutionary gains; accelerating economic development; and enhancing the people's living standards. In general we believe that on the occasion of holidays of this kind people must be able to feel that life is improving.

Hun Sen Makes Moscow Stopover En Route Home

PM1711151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure From Moscow"]

[Text] Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and foreign minister, left Moscow 15 November after a stopover here.

He was seen off at the airport by V.K. Gusev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The send-off party included Hor Nam Hong, PRK ambassador to the USSR, and other officials.

Commentary on Process of Cambodian Settlement

BK1511060788 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 14 November 88

[Commentary by station observer Alekseyev]

[Text] At present, nobody has the least doubt that the meeting of Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, with the leaders of the opposing Cambodian factions, namely Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, in Fere-en-Tardenois, France, is a moderately important move toward a political solution to the Cambodian problem. This viewpoint was expressed by the comrade himself in an interview granted to newsmen. In a separate interview, this view was also expressed by Samdech Sihanouk's son, Prince Ranariddh, who was actively engaged in the discussions. Moreover, this view was also accepted by several broadcasting services in Southeast Asia.

Our observer, Comrade Alekseyev, has the following comments on the issue:

Considering the statement issued by the concerned parties, the meeting had an important and positive result. It is worth noting that the participants adopted a resolution on the formation of a working commission entrusted with the duties of studying all possibilities to find a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem. Another significant fact was that Comrade Hun Sen, Samdech Sihanouk, and Son Sann agreed to meet again next year. They also unanimously agreed on the question on which Phnom Penh has long since focused attention, namely the organization of an international conference to examine and resolve the external aspects of the Cambodian problem. So, the progress made obviously supports this. And what is important is that the Cambodian parties will continue their discussions in the future.

At the meeting, there were also slight differences of opinion among the participants. In a news conference, Comrade Hun Sen stressed that Phnom Penh cannot accept the negotiating position of the other parties which demands that a quadripartite government be established in Cambodia prior to general and free elections. It is very clear that both Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann repeatedly said that Cambodia's future policy and regime should be determined through a free expression of will by the Cambodian people themselves.

The PRK fully supports the position that no more than three months after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troop from Cambodia, by the first quarter of 1990 at the latest, free elections should be organized throughout the country. Phnom Penh holds the opinion that only the result of those elections will be the basis for the establishment of the government and other authorities in the country.

Is the proposed coalition government created before general elections a practical idea? Does this attitude not mean an inclination to remain deaf and blind to the directly and freely expressed aspirations of the Cambodian people, that is always claimed as the determining factor in the settlement of Cambodia's internal affairs. Needless to say, in practice, this certainly means that the existing government in Cambodia must be completely dissolved. But, in fact, it is this government, with its armed forces, that is conducting effective counterattacks against the maneuvers of the Khmer Rouge who perpetually hope to regain power in Cambodia, and then, once again, will plunge this country into the quagmire of another genocide.

Phnom Penh holds the view that, following the complete Vietnamese troop withdrawal and in the transition period before the elections in Cambodia, the present political and military status quo should be maintained and the army of each faction should remain in place, ceasing all military operations.

For their involvement in the country's policy at this stage, the Cambodian opposing groups have extensive possibilities. The conditions and procedures of free elections throughout the country should be determined by a quadripartite council headed by Samdech Sihanouk. The council also has a duty to prepare a new constitution for the country. The PRK has also suggested that all the processes should be placed under a strict control and supervision of a special international commission.

Commentator on Hun Sen's Stopover in India

BK1811074388 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Commentary by station commentator (Vasiliy Chavros)]

[Text] Comrade Hun Sen, head of the PRK Government, has paid a 2-day visit to India. In New Delhi, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao held talks with the head of the Cambodian Government. Our commentator, (Vasiliy Chavros), writes:

This visit by the Cambodian prime minister to New Delhi is a remarkable event. Only recently, Comrade Hun Sen met with Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann, leaders of opposing Cambodian groups, and discussed problems relating to ending the conflict in Cambodia. Important results were achieved at this meeting. However, many other issues were shelved. This is why it is easy to understand that, on the way home, the PRK prime minister took the opportunity to discuss and consult with leaders of the friendly country and brief them on the results of the meeting with leaders of opposing Cambodian groups.

Comrade Hun Sen stopped over in Moscow before arriving in India.

I would like to point out that this is reasonable, because India has always supported the Cambodian people's struggle for independence. I would like to recall events which, in my opinion, are of great significance. During the struggle against the blood-stained Pol Pot regime, India firmly and resolutely supported the Cambodian people. When the Cambodian people won their freedom, India was the first among non-socialist countries in Asia to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with Cambodia. Since then, India has never given the Cambodian people any reason to doubt its friendly sentiments and sincere solidarity.

In the talks with Comrade Hun Sen, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi once again affirmed his government's support for Phnom Penh's national reconciliation policy to solve the Cambodian problem politically. New Delhi's attitude on this issue is in line with the document on the foundation of foreign policy signed by Rajiv Gandhi and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev 2 years ago. This is the New Delhi declaration on the principle of a non-violent world free from nuclear weapons. This statement points out that it is necessary to build international relations in such a way that confrontation is replaced by cooperation, while a conflict situation will be normalized peacefully through political and not military means.

Therefore, India's support for Cambodia is not dependent on the world situation, as some people affirmed. However, as a principle, this is most important. As was expected, India has agreed to take part in an international conference to normalize the situation in Cambodia. Comrade Hun Sen has agreed with Sihanouk and Son Sann on convening this conference. This initiative was put forward by the Indochinese countries since 1981 and has received wide international support and has gradually taken shape.

In sum, Comrade Hun Sen's visit to New Delhi shows that when peace-loving forces are confronted by those bent on fueling confrontation, people who prefer solving a conflict peacefully can always count on India for support.

Soviet Sailors Aid Cambodian City

PM1711150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov "Cambodian Reportage": "At the End of the Rainy Season"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh—[passage omitted] We had talks at Kompong Som City Hall on the city's problems. There are a great many of them, ranging from housing and municipal services to industry and security. The population is increasing and has now reached 75,000. Most are employed in trade and agriculture. The city is largely fed by 10,000 hectares of cultivated fields that form the "green belt." Virtually all the housing stock is still awaiting repair. Many buildings are empty, in particular,

the multistory "Independence" Hotel, the main sight in Kompong Som. "At present it's beyond us," the "city fathers" said, "we've got to restore the water supply, the sewage system, and the electricity network."

Under an agreement between our countries, Soviet power engineering specialists and water purification specialists are working in the city. The deputy mayor did not hide his definite concern with regard to holdups in supplies of materials and equipment from the Soviet Union.

It was more than 9 years ago that I visited Kompong Som for the first time. I observed the beginning of the city's revival. Routine shipments were arriving at its port from the Soviet Union and other countries— food, medicine, equipment, and construction materials to save the people, who had just experienced the nightmare of the Pol Pot regime. The Soviet "Lyubov Orlova" motor ship, where seamen and dockers from our Far East lived, was at its moorings there. They were helping organize port services and training local cadres. The men of the Far East and other Soviet people who worked in Kompong Som left good memories behind.

But one of these deeds arouses a particular feeling in Cambodians. This is the children's home named for Khmer-Soviet Friendship, which was repaired and equipped by seamen from the "Lyubov Orlova" motor ship. Orphans who lost their parents in the Pol Pot camps made their home there. Many of its pupils have already grown up and started an independent life. But, unfortunately, the home is not empty. The war is still going on and children are still being orphaned in Cambodia.

But a good tradition has taken shape among Soviet crews going to Cambodia: On entering port they rush to call on "their kids" and give them gifts. The children wait for them as if they were relatives and when the ship leaves they pour onto the quay and wave their hands shouting "Goodbye!" in Russian.

I asked Chan Moni, chief of the children's home, the following question: If "Sevan" leaves during rainy weather, do they go and see it off?

"Of course," she replied. "'Sevan's' seamen pay a great deal of attention to us. They have completely repaired the electric wiring, painted the walls, and helped with materials. On the whole they've shown the children as much kindness as the best uncles. Of course, the children will remember this kindness all their lives."

Burma's Saw Maung Sends Greetings to Gorbachev

BK0911113088 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] General Saw Maung, chairman of Burma's Law and Order Restoration Council, in a message of felicitations to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, said, he, on behalf of the Burmese Government and people, wished the Soviet people progress and prosperity.

Western 'Interference' in Burmese Affairs Viewed

BK1211112088 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Commentary Aleksandr Vladimirov: "Who is Interested in Continuing Burma's Crisis?"]

[Text] Life is unpredictable, as the old saying goes. A few months ago, Western countries assailed Burma for its isolation, yet no one would have been able to predict that the mass media in these very countries would one day come to criticize the attempts made by the government of General Saw Maung to resume contacts with the outside world.

What has brought about such a change?

In the West, the U Ne Win government was dubbed a dictatorial government, and now the government of General Saw Maung is described in similar terms. Therefore, there seem to be other reasons to change their stand in extending help to Burma. Could it possibly be due to the attitude of the government towards the opposition?

An opposition could not officially exist under U Ne Win. Except for the Burma Socialist Program Party, all other parties were forbidden. General Saw Maung's government has abolished these laws and has been nurturing the work of the Democratic Multiparty General Elections Commission. The commission has so far registered 115 political parties. Furthermore, the government has already promised to hold multiparty general elections— something that could not even be imagined in U Ne Win's time.

Despite this, Western countries and Japan have declared a boycott against Burma. Spokesmen in these countries have justified their stand by saying that the killing by the military authorities of demonstrators taking part in the mass movements is unacceptable. It is right to show concern and compassion for those who die and suffer on account of the use of arms by the military in the streets of Burma. However, this very feeling of sympathy has prompted all of us to contemplate on means to prevent a similar bloodbath in future.

Countries that have helped Burma in the past have now chosen the option of applying economic pressure to General Saw Maung's government. However, it makes us wonder whether their declared aims and the means employed are in accord. Spokesmen in the West are saying that aid will be resumed as soon as the multiparty general elections have been held. Thus, it seems that the Western countries believe that all restrictions on public liberty will immediately be lifted and general elections will be held very quickly as a result of their economic

pressure. However, what is to be considered about the declaration made by the representatives of the opposition that their parties are not yet ready to struggle for participation in the state organs? According to studies made by experts, including those from the Western countries, newly formed parties are more likely to be defeated if the elections are held in the near future.

Another thing difficult to appreciate are the consequences of the attempts to forming an interim government. Representatives of 33 opposition parties recently demanded the formation of such a government to include worthy representatives of the people. In my opinion, however, the highest state organ should be formed on a more definite basic principle. Besides, it is not to be forgotten that the opposition have just begun to struggle for the adoption of a common platform. In addition to these facts, Western observers have pointed out that the economic stagnation in Burma is not fertile soil for the growth of the democratic processes. REUTER in Bangkok pointed out recently that the search for daily necessities has weakened the struggle for democracy, and the Burmese people exhausted by the political turmoil have come to worry more about ordinary survival than democracy.

It is difficult to divine the consequences of the pressure exerted by the aid donors on the Burmese political scene. However, nobody can deny that to boycott Burma like this will hurt the economy. Furthermore, everyone knows that in the present economic stagnation there is a danger of further explosions of socioeconomic conflicts. People feel helpless at a time when it is difficult to know how to survive until tomorrow or the next week—and people can easily fall prey to those who would like to incite them.

At times there have been attempts to give appearance that the present stand taken by the Western countries is giving encouragement to the Burmese opposition in their struggle against the military government. However, there are many instances where these attempts are not in accord with the present situation. For example, ASAHI news agency at the end of October quoted the spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry as saying it was difficult to believe the Burmese opposition forces could dislodge the military government. Therefore, it has to be asked why the young people are pushed like this without believing in victory. Under the present condition in Burma, any step taken to exacerbate political and economic difficulties will only lead to the escalation of conflict in Burma. Worse still, this could cause a situations where any power could be incited to resort to violence, raising the specter of Burma becoming another source of tension in Asia. Undesirable consequences, including foreign interferences, could easily follow. Who is interested in this?

It is obvious that both the present government and the opposition in Burma do not want such a course of events—leaders like Daw Aung San Suu Kyi have already indicated that foreign interference is not desirable. The answer to who would be interested in continuing Burma's crisis is obvious.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to India

News Briefing Held

LD1611203988 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 16 TASS—Special TASS correspondent report:

A record of sorts was set today in the press centre that was opened at the central Delhi Hotel Ashoka. For over an hour and a half Indian and foreign journalists who gathered there put questions to a group of experts of the Soviet delegation ahead of an official friendly visit to India by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium.

They were interested in details of the coming talks of the Soviet leader with India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and put questions about prospects on the further development of Soviet-Indian relations that were given a vigorous impetus following Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India two years ago. Nikolay Shishlin, responsible official of the CPSU Central Committee, Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, Yuriy Osipyan and others took part in the news conference.

The presentation of the book "Mikhail Gorbachev's New Thinking Asia-Pacific—A Critical Assessment" was held in the Presidential Palace Rashtrapati Bhawan today. India's President Ramaswami Venkataraman said that what takes place now was unthinkable five years ago. Mikhail Gorbachev made a veritable revolution in political thinking: Political consultations replaced confrontation.

An important document was signed at India's Ministry of External Trade on the same day. It is a protocol which envisages a steep increase of the volume of trade between the USSR and India. It will go up by 35 percent next year. A dynamic development of commercial and economic relations between the two countries makes one confident that the aim set during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India in November 1986 will be achieved. The volume of trade will increase 150 percent to reach 100 billion rupees by 1992.

The Indian side is of the opinion that the closure of the festival of the USSR in India will be a spectacular event during the visit of the Soviet leader to Delhi. The fete of Soviet culture that has been going on in Indian cities for a year now has been an effective form of people's diplomacy, a TASS correspondent was told by Vira

Raghawan, secretary coordinator of India's Ministry of Education and Culture. Many ideas of cultural contacts conceived during the festival should be implemented on a permanent basis.

USSR Minister of Culture Vasiliy Zakharov shares this opinion. "The closure of the festival of the USSR in India is not the finale, but a step in the advance toward widening the contacts between our two great peoples," he said in an interview to TASS.

More colours are added these days to the picture of Delhi. There are garlands of fresh flowers along the streets, state flags [words indistinct] in central squares. The distinguished Soviet guest is awaited in the Indian capital.

PRAVDA Sets Scene

PM1711153388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondents V. Baykov, O. Kitsenko dispatch: "India Awaits Its Soviet Guest"]

[Text] Delhi, 16 Nov—A magnificent avenue—Rajpath (state way)—runs through the very center of Delhi from the presidential palace to the arch built to commemorate Indian soldiers who died during World War I. Parades and demonstrations devoted to the national holiday, Republic Day, and ceremonies to welcome high-ranking foreign guests, those on whom India wants to bestow the highest honor, are held here. Right now Rajpath is donning festive garb: The several-kilometers-long thoroughfare is being decorated with arches made of fresh flowers, red banners with the hammer and sickle emblem, and the tricolor Indian national flags. Preparations for M.S. Gorbachev's visit, the second in 2 years, are under way.

Incidentally, the preparations began much earlier and the bustle on Rajpath is only a small part of the efforts undertaken by Moscow and Delhi to prepare the visit. Recent weeks and days have been filled with lively political consultations among experts, specialists, and representative delegations of the two countries devoted to the elaboration of questions of economic and trade cooperation. At the beginning of November a Soviet delegation headed by K.F. Katushev, minister of foreign economic ties, held talks in Delhi while simultaneous consultations took place in Moscow between K. Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs, and E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister.

As the visit drew nearer, the number of conferences, seminars, symposiums, and newspaper articles devoted to Soviet-Indian relations and topical problems of international life increased. Here are some characteristic newspaper headlines: "The Second Delhi Summit" (STATESMAN), "Common Interests Unite Two Peoples" (NATIONAL HERALD), "Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi Will Examine the Results of the Implementation of the Ideas of the Delhi Declaration (PATRIOT), "Soviet-Indian Relations Are Expanding" (ECONOMIC TIMES). Local papers report that in the course of the visit talks between M.S. Gorbachev and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, President R. Venkataraman, and Vice President Sh.D. Sharma will be held. The Soviet leader will take part in the ceremonial closure of the USSR festival in India and will attend a ceremony to unveil a monument to A.S. Pushkin in a Delhi square. It is expected that a number of documents will be signed on the expansion of cooperation between our countries in the sphere of power engineering, space research, and cultural exchanges. At a special ceremony M.S. Gorbachev will be presented with the International Indira Gandhi Prize, which has been awarded to him for his outstanding contribution to strengthening peace.

Special importance is being attached here to the upcoming talks between the leaders of the two countries, which have become a good tradition. They were opened in 1985 during Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the USSR and were continued in 1986 in Delhi when M.S. Gorbachev visited India for the first time. Local journalists have dubbed the upcoming talks "a new round of the Delhi dialogue of peace and friendship." Politicians, businessmen, and representatives of the public are expressing confidence that the talks will again be fruitful, will raise the friendship and cooperation between our countries to a new, higher level, and will make a tangible contribution to the strengthening of peace in Asia and beyond.

The Soviet Union's efforts to halt the arms race, achieve general and complete disarmament, and rid the peoples of the world of the nuclear threat are meeting with ardent support in India. The comprehensive system of international security put forward by the USSR and the program for peaceful collaboration in the Asia-Pacific region have met with widespread response among the Indian public.

Soviet people in turn back India's foreign policy initiatives and specifically the plan of action for nuclear disarmament submitted to the United Nations by R. Gandhi. India's stance in respect to a just settlement of the Near East problem and ending the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war, and its constructive approach to the problem of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and efforts to transform Asia into a region of lasting peace and stability deserve high praise. People in our country also value the tremendous role played by India as one of the leaders of the Nonaligned Movement and as an active member of the "Group of Six."

And when two states with a combined population of more than a billion people act jointly to build a world without violence and wars, when they operate on the same wavelength in expressing their views on fundamental international problems, then this becomes a tangible factor of international politics. This is what happened in November 1986 when the Soviet-Indian dialogue at

summit level was crowned with the signing of the historic Delhi Declaration based on the 10 principles of building a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

Many political observers note that the Soviet leader is coming to India at a time when the international prestige of the Soviet Union has noticeably risen as a result of the numerous foreign policy initiatives put forward by the USSR.

These assessments of the Indian public are the key to understanding what is probably the most important aspect of the visit: The Soviet Union has now become the generally recognized leader in the struggle for international security, and the peace initiatives which it has launched, including those launched jointly with India, are ardently received in the world.

"Throughout the world positive trends are gathering momentum, and disputes are increasingly often being resolved through political dialogue and peaceful means," K. Tiwari, Indian minister of state for external affairs, has said. "The signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles represents the first step toward translating the universal principles of the declaration into practical actions, and it testifies to the possibility of achieving nuclear disarmament."

The visit is only a few hours away. India awaits its Soviet guest and is preparing to give him a cordial welcome.

Gorbachev Leaves Tashkent

LD1811064388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is traveling to Delhi on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Indian leadership, left Tashkent. At the airport, Comrade Gorbachev was seen off by Khabibullayev, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other leaders of the republic.

Moscow TV Shows Arrival

LD1811090888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0812 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Unidentified correspondent's report on arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in Delhi; from a "special edition" of the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived today in Delhi, the Indian capital, at the invitation of the Indian leadership on an official friendly visit. He was met at Delhi airport by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and by other officials.

The Soviet delegation accompanying Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev includes: Comrade Shevardnadze; Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan; and Comrade Zakharov, USSR culture minister.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the members of the Soviet delegation were warmly greeted on the streets of Delhi on the way to the presidential palace by numerous residents of the Indian capital. [video shows Gorbachev, Shevardnadzes, and Raisa Gorbacheva descending steps of aircraft and beings met by Rajiv Gandhi and wife; motorcade traveling along streets; crowds waving flags and banners]

Gorbachev Arrival Comments

LD1811091388 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, arrived in the Indian capital on an official friendly visit today.

Asked by reporters about his first impressions on Indian soil, he said:

"I can say that I'm very happy to be in India again. I'm very moved by the welcome extended to us here.

"I think this visit—at any case we all hope so—will be another major step in the development of our relations which we value and which we cherish".

Gorbachev Reception Reported

LD1811113488 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0812 GMT on 18 November carries a recorded special edition of the "Novosti" newscast on the arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in New Delhi. At 0813 GMT, correspondents V. Ilyashenko and S. Alekseyev begin a report on an official reception for Gorbachev at Rashtrapati Bhawan, the presidential palace in Delhi, which the correspondents note will be Gorbachev's residence while in India.

The video shows the motorcade entering the gates and proceeding along the drive toward the palace accompanied by an escort on horseback. A gun salute is heard in the background as the correspondents read comment from the Indian press praising the Soviet leader's visit and Soviet-Indian relations. One of the correspondents says: "At the presidential palace Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is met by Indian President Venkataraman

and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. They warmly welcome the high-level Soviet guest to Indian soil. Precisely 2 years have passed since Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's last visit to India."

The video shows Gorbachev and his wife emerging from their limousine in front of the palace and being met by Venkataraman, Rajiv Gandhi and wife, and by other unidentified officials. The group poses for a photo by the car. Gorbachev then walks to a small platform in the center of the palace square, which is covered by a red awning and surrounded with flowers. The Soviet and Indian national anthems are played as the two countries' flags fly overhead. Gorbachev stands alone on the platform. He then inspects the guard of honor with Venkataraman before rejoining the remainder of the official party.

A correspondent says: "Mikhail Sergeyevich is exchanging cordial greetings with Indian cabinet ministers and with prominent political and public figures in the country. Incidentally, this visit is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's first visit as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and it has attracted attention throughout the world as an important event long before this day in November. Each visit by a Soviet leader to India represents a weighty contribution not only to the cause of strengthening traditional Indian-Soviet friendship, but also as a contributiion to the universal cause of strengthening the peace and security of peoples.

"Speaking in Krasnoyarsk in September, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev highly evaluated Soviet-Indian relations. He stressed that they have in recent years become a constant and constructive factor of enormous international significance. Now he has expressed the hope that this summit in Delhi will be a new and important step in strengthening bilateral cooperation in the interests of universal security. Yes, on such days we have a particular appreciation for the closeness of our two states and the fact that the Soviet Union and India are conscious of their special role in the world, striving through their practical deeds to safeguard peace and security, justice, and development for present and future generations of people."

The video shows the Gorbachevs mingling with the guests and then returning to their car, which is then seen moving slowly our of the palace square.

A correspondent says: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is proceeding toward the southern wing of the presidential palace. It is worth recalling that it was precisely here 2 years ago, within the walls of Rashtrapati Bhawan, that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi signed the Delhi Declaration for a world without nuclear weapons and violence. It contained a confirmation of the priciple of a new political thinking. It was a specific program of action in the name of preserving human civilization in our nuclear age. The declaration had a great positive effect on the world political climate and it continues to make its contribution to the restructuring of international relations. It is now essential to strengthen these positive trends in the world and to give them a new stimulus. It is precisely to this that the efforts and intentions of the leaders of our two countries will be directed during the talks that will begin here in the presidential palace today."

Opens Talks With Gandhi

LD1811113888 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India had their first one-on-one meeting in the presidential palace today.

They discussed important issues related to the international situation, the situation in Asia and bilateral relations.

Gorbachev Addresses Banquet

LD1811141388 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—"Relations between the Soviet Union and India are grounded in the similarity, and often identity of our views as regards the meaning and goals of world development. They are based on unconditional respect for social and political choices," said Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He spoke today at a dinner given in his honour by President of India Ramaswami Venkataraman.

The Soviet leader said that Soviet-Indian interaction on a consistent and stable basis in no way hinders the development of relations with third countries in accordance with the legitimate and specific interests of each of them.

In the two years since the Delhi Declaration, Gorbachev went on, we have seen both great changes in the world and the growing willingness among those involved in international affairs to take them into account and draw constructive conclusions.

"What is most important now is to do everything possible to make sure that the new positive trends—in nuclear disarmament, in defusing regional conflicts, and in developing dialogue and mutual understanding between states—become irreversible.

"It will then become possible not only to put an end to the 'nuclear syndrome' but to achieve a breakthrough in combatting poverty, deterioration of the environment,

hunger and other large-scale disasters—in other words, to create not just the guarantee for the survival of mankind but decent living conditions for generations to come."

Gorbachev said in conclusion that "Soviet and Indian leaders have all that is necessary—good will, experience, trust and confidence in reliable partnership—to make full use of mutual understanding and interaction for the benefit of their peoples and the entire world community."

Foreign Ministry Statement on Palestinian State

LD1811111088 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, read out the following statement from his ministry at a news briefing here today:

The decisions taken by the special session of the National Council of Palestine in Algiers have been received with interest and approval in the Soviet Union.

Permeated with the keen sense of realism and responsibility demonstrated by the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, these decisions, as a package, are a major contribution to the process of fair political settlement in the Middle East.

As a result, a situation is shaping where all the sides directly involved in the conflict recognize that the path to peace and peaceful coexistence between the Arabs and Israel lies through talks on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and that a Jewish and an Arab state have equal rights to existence in Palestine.

What is important is that the supreme representative body of the Palestinian people has proclaimed its allegiance to the generally recognized principles of international interaction.

The Soviet Union has invariably supported the Palestinian people in their aspiration to exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to create an independent state of their own.

Our people understand the feeling of political elan and enthusiasm expressed by the Palestinians and their Arab brothers in connection with the decisions taken by the Algiers session of the National Council of Palestine.

Faithful to the fundamental principle of freedom of choice, the Soviet Union recognizes the proclamation of the Palestinian state, being guided by the realization that a comprehensive settlement will also lead to the practical conclusion of the historic process of creating this state.

The way is being cleared to convening at the earliest opportunity an international conference on the Middle East. The Soviet Union urges all interested nations to increase their efforts to expedite the preparation of the conference.

The United Nations, the Security Council and all its permanent members have an especially great role to play in this.

Our common task is not to squander the opportunity that has appeared, and get down to practical work towards achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East, as a result of which the people of Palestine will at last gain a fatherland, the people of Israel will gain reliable security and the entire region and international community will remove one of the most dangerous sources of tension.

Declaration of Palestinian State Viewed

PM1711145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Yuriy Glukhov "Viewpoint": "The Hour Has Struck"]

[Text] The hour has struck: An independent Palestinian state has been proclaimed. This historic decision was adopted by the Palestine National Council [PNC] (the Palestinian parliament in exile) in Algiers 15 November. The new state has already received official recognition by many countries.

The Palestinians have been moving toward this for more than 40 years. Through five Arab-Israeli wars and years of occupation and repression, which is still continuing, through refugee camps and wandering abroad, through the crucible of the uprising on the Israeli-occupied territories, which has now been raging for more than 11 months. For their state's birth certificate was issued by the UN General Assembly back in 1947. Resolution 181 provided for the creation of two states—one Jewish, one Arab—on the former British mandate territory of Palestine. The Jewish state of Israel was created in 1948, but the Palestinians' national aspirations were not realized.

So the PNC decision is founded on a sound basis in international law and on repeatedly expressed recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to create their own state. It is a question here of using political means and the already approved mechanism of a settlement. It is a question of rejecting confrontation in the name of seeking peaceful solutions.

In particular, the PNC confirmed the need to hold an effective international conference to resolve the Near East conflict with its central Palestinian problem. It must be held under UN auspices, with the participation of the Security Council's permanent members and all the sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative. The international conference, the PNC declaration states, must be

held on the basis of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and a guarantee of the Palestinian people's legitimate national rights, primarily their right to self-determination, and also in accordance with UN resolutions concerning the Palestinian question. [PRAVDA's Second Edition version of the same article here adds the following sentence: "The PLO also proposes that the United Nations take the Israeli-occupied territories under its control during the transition period."]

I will remind you that Resolution 242, approved by the UN Security Council on 22 November 1967, notes the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by means of war. It speaks of the need to withdraw the Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied in 1967. It asserts respect for and recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every state in that region and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders, not being subjected to threats of force or the use of force. This applies equally to Arab states and to Israel.

At the same time the Palestinian problem figures in the resolution indirectly as a refugee problem in general, without mentioning the Palestinian people, their rights, or their statehood. The limited nature of the resolution elicited criticism from the Palestinians—which was used against them for purely speculative purposes by Israel, the United States, and Western countries. These hostile fabrications have now had the rug pulled out from under them. It is now a question of fulfilling this and other resolutions. [PRAVDA's Second Edition renders the preceding sentence as: "Even a formal pretext for sabotaging the fulfillment of this and other resolutions and for accusations of this against the PLO vanishes."]

The decisive new condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism, was of fundamental importance. This is because Zionist propaganda has created the popular cliche of "Palestinian terrorists," presenting the Palestinians' struggle for freedom and independence in just this light. But let us take the uprising in the occupied territories. It is taking place in nonviolent forms. And, on the contrary, a hail of repression is raining down upon it. In the course of the uprising the occupiers have killed more than 320 people, and thousands have been thrown into jails and concentration camps. We see here a raging of state terrorism being perpetrated in a most frenzied form. [PRAVDA's Second Edition version omits the two preceding sentences]

Under these conditions the PNC decision is a step toward peace which is still being taken unilaterally. Palestine's proclamation as a peace-loving state adhering to the principle of peaceful coexistence and rejecting the use of force and terror against the territorial integrity of other states is set against the background of Tel Aviv's refusal to recognize the Palestinians' rights and their representative—the PLO—and to participate in a peace conference on a Near East settlement.

In response to the proclamation of the Palestinian state the Israeli Army has beefed up repressive measures in the occupied territories. Palestinians can be flung into jail for up to 5 years or fined up to $10,000 for hoisting national flags and chanting slogans, and singing and dancing in the streets is forbidden. [PRAVDA's Second Edition version omits preceding paragraph]

The Israeli military is still gambling on force, giving no thought to the future and counting on instant advantages. But the Israeli people have been offered a real opportunity to establish peace with their Arab neighbors. Will this opportunity be utilized?

'Arafat Cited on PNC Session, Resolution 242

PM1711113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA own correspondent dispatch under the general heading: "Decision of Palestine National Council a Most Important Event"]

[Text] Algiers—The Palestine National Council [PNC] approved UN Security Council Resolution 242 having in mind the simultaneous exercise of our people's right to self-determination, Y. 'Arafat has stated at a news conference.

Is there really any ambiguity here? Israel's official reaction to this document accused the said section of the political declaration of being ambiguous. The question arises, Y. 'Arafat continued, of just where the aforementioned ambiguity lies. Evidently, from the Israeli leadership's viewpoint, the Palestinian parliament's acknowledgment of Resolution 242 accompanied by a reference to the need for self-determination for the Arab people of Palestine means the end of the Jewish state's existence. In reality there is no ambiguity in such a stance. We expressed ourselves most clearly.

Reproducing the words of a BBC correspondent covering the PNC session, 'Arafat stressed: The political declaration adopted has made the maximum possible progress along the path of peace. Three words may be used to describe this document: restraint, flexibility, and realism. It should be clear, however, that in holding out their hand to the world the Palestinians are not asking it for charity. They are quite entitled to come to an international conference on the Near East on the basis of equality with the other interested parties.

'Arafat Meets AUCCTU's Averyanov in Tunis

LD1811105788 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Tunis November 18 TASS—PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has called for stronger Palestinian-Soviet ties and relations with other friends across the world.

He was speaking at a meeting here with a visiting Soviet trade union delegation led by Boris Averyanov, head of the international department of the central national council of trade unions.

Palestinian people, 'Arafat said, value the assistance and support of Soviet working people and regard the Soviet Union's position as very important.

He especially pointed to Soviet people's financial and material aid to Palestinians waging a courageous struggle in Israeli-occupied Arab lands.

The Palestinian leader reiterated the need for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and representatives of all the sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Soviet Correspondents Wounded in Afghanistan

LD1711150188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1352 GMT 17 Nov 88

["Afghanistan: Provocation Against Journalists"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] It happened in Nangahar Province, about 12 km from the border with Pakistan. A group of foreign journalists, including Soviet journalists, came to this area of Afghanistan to make live reports from the sites of recent battles, during which the Afghan Army had routed a group of Afghan rebels, liberating a strategically important section of the Jalalabad-Towr Kham road.

The firing started suddenly from Pakistan's territory. A rocket exploded in the immediate vicinity of an armored personnel carrier which the journalists were near. Yu. Tyssovskiy, head of the TASS office in Kabul; D. Meshchaninov, IZVESTIYA correspondent; and correspondents from France, Japan, and India were wounded by shrapnel. It is clear that the bandits' action was undertaken by the extremists with the aim of not permitting truthful and efficient coverage by the international mass media of everything that is happening on the long-suffering Afghan soil.

Yu. Tyssovskiy, an experienced international affairs journalist, is widely known to Soviet readers for his books and his sharp reports from the "hot spots" of the world. His abilities as a reporter are being demonstrated particularly clearly during these difficult days in Afghanistan's history.

Readers acquaint themselves with great interest also with the acute and urgent reports by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Meshchaninov, who has also been working in Afghanistan for a long time.

The condition of the Soviet journalists is not now giving cause for concern. In the near future they will be able to return to their difficult duties, which are so essential to people.

[Signed] TASS, 17 November

Further on Casualties

LD1811000488 Moscow TASS in English 2243 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 18 TASS—TASS correspondents report:

A column of armoured vehicles of the Afghan Army was approaching the Pakistani border, this time for an absolutely peaceful purpose: To take foreign journalists to the frontier post Towr Kham which was freed as a result of a recent successful combat operation. The column had to cover some ten kilometres to reach Towr Kham, when fire was opened on it from the Pakistani territory...

A jet rocket burst at a distance of three metres from an armoured carrier moving at high speed. All the journalists sitting along the right side of the vehicle were grazed by small fragments and stones. But the main impact of the blast was on the second armoured carrier following the first one at a distance of ten metres. Correspondents of TASS, the NOVOSTI press agency, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and the french "L'HUMANITE" were riding in it. Chief of the TASS Bureau in Kabul Yuriy Tyssovskiy had a more serious injury than the others. A fragment of the shell lodged in his left leg and he was bleeding profusely. Correspondent of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Aleksandr Oliynik who was next to him rendered first aid to his wounded colleague. Oliynik never leaves on travel over the country without taking along a first aid kit.

A natural reaction of a civilian to bleeding is to stop and dress the wound. But the laws of war which is still tearing Afghanistan apart prohibit any stops under fire. The column picked up the speed to get out to the range of fire as soon as possible.

In ten minutes the column entered Towr Kham. Afghan soldiers who freed the city three days before our arrival and who witnessed many deaths and wounds gave a touching welcome to the journalists. The state of the injured was assessed on the spot with the help of an Afghan doctor and medical aid was given. Yuriy Tyssovskiy was wounded in a leg and needed to be hospitalised. Dmitriy Meshchaninov of IZVESTIYA had a microscopic fragment lodged in the wing of nostril. He was bustling with energy and cheerful as usual and was helping others. Francis Cremieux of L'HUMANITE sustained a slight injury. Oleg Ignatyev, PRAVDA's special correspondent, was wounded in the head. (Oleg Konstantinovich, showing presence of mind was sitting on the highest plane of the armoured carrier after all other journalists sought cover. He declined medical aid,

even though blood was spreading on the collar of his shirt and coat). Johann Hippler (the FRG, the press service of the Greens Party in the Bundestag) was wounded in the head with a fragment. Andrey Solomonov of the NOVOSTI press agency had a splint of metal lodged in his right forearm. Protap Chakravarti (AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE) had a penetrating wound in a shoulder and wound in the head and needed to be hospitalised. Altogether eight journalists and one Afghan soldier from the accompanying party were wounded. The evacuation of the wounded was immediately organized. Helicopters of the Afghan Airforces called by a walkie-talkie brought us to Jalalabad within half an hour. An ambulance was waiting there.

Doctors of the Jalalabad Army Hospital have seen much in the years of war. But it was the first time they faced wounded journalists. The surgeons were much impressed by the courage with which Yuriy Tyssovskiy behaved when his wound was dressed. He did not groan once even though the surgical treatment was done without anesthetics. He lost much blood. And Chakravarti was only cursing the extremists. An X-ray showed that a fragment lodged under his right collar bone. It was only when a small wound in his head was dressed that he lost consciousness. He needed to be evacuated to Kabul.

Soviet doctors at the Kabul Army Hospital performed their duties flawlessly, and the lives of the journalists are not in danger. Thursday afternoon some of them were discharged from the hospital, while others still remain there. Two fragments were extracted from Yuriy Tyssovskiy's wounded leg and doctors are certain that the wound will not affect either the performance of his journalistic duties or his ability to walk.

Chakravarti was laughing and cursing extremists again and giving interviews in which he accuses Pakistan of the violation of the Geneva accords and interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

Altogether several dozens of grams of metal were extracted from the journalists' bodies. If they were less lucky, this might have been fatal for someone of them.

The day after it happened, I pondered on whether the "intransigent rebels" knew at whom they were firing. I'm sure that they did. They were aware of the arrival of foreign journalists and they knew that any reportage about their crimes on the temporarily occupied territory will be an accusation of them by the unbiased press. And then they decided to committ another crime: To open fire on journalists. But those who planned this action have miscalculated. One can be confident that no less than 30 journalists will give an objective picture of what took place on the Afghan-Pakistani border on November 16, 1988.

By Aleksandr Snastin

...The author of the reportage does not mention himself. Meanwhile, Aleksandr Snastin, too, was wounded during the trip to Towr Kham. Representing together with Yu. Tyssovskiy TASS, the Soviet news agency, he also received several fragments of a jet rocket for a journalist's usual striving to get objective information. Three small splints of metal remain in his body. Luckily this is not dangerous and Aleksandr Snastin regarded it his duty to write a reportage about his friends and colleagues before seeking medical aid. It should also be noted that it is only due to A. Snastin's promptness and insistence that timely measures for the evacuation of the wounded to the Afghan capital have been taken. He managed to get in touch with Kabul from the army hospital in Jalalabad (there is no permanent communication between the cities).

Oleg Kuzmin

Soviet Command Issues Warning

LD1811095688 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 18 Nov 88

["Command of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan Statement"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul November 18 TASS—Major-General Lev Serebrov, a representative of the command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, today familiarized local and foreign correspondents with a statement issued by the command of the Soviet Forces in Afghanistan.

On Nov. 13, 1988, it said, gangs of the Afghan opposition fired at Kabul airport as an airliner of the Soviet airline Aeroflot was there and as it was taking off. Eleven Soviet nationals were killed and eleven more injured.

On Nov. 16 a group of correspondents from various countries came under fire near the state border in the area of Towr Kham, Nangarhar Province. The fire came from Pakistani territory. Seven correspondents, including 4 Soviet, one French, one West German and one Indian reporters and two Afghan servicemen, were wounded.

The command of the Soviet Forces in Afghanistan has been carefully monitoring the situation and seeking to help the Afghan people in every way to put out the flames of war in their country.

Following the spirit and the letter of the Geneva agreements strictly, the Soviet Union withdrew 50 per cent of its troops from Afghanistan between May 15 and August 15.

Acting in a spirit of the national reconciliation policy, the Afghan leadership, for its part, adopted a number of important measures towards a political settlement.

All this can lead to a positive shift toward a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem, but Pakistani authorities, acting in violation of the Geneva agreements, and the Peshawar leaders of the Afghan opposition have decided on exacerbating the situation in the country, escalating military activities in various part of Afghanistan and stepping up sabotage and terrorism.

In connection with the barbarous attacks on the airport and on the correspondents on Afghan territory, the command of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan declares that it has taken additional measures to put an end to the sabotage and terrorist activities of the armed opposition.

If the armed opposition continues escalating military activities, the command will have to apply other military means at its disposal.

All responsibility for the consequences will then be wholly and squarely on the opposition and its patrons—the organizers of the acts of sabotage and terrorism.

'No Comment' From State Department

LD1811065688 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A spokesman for the U.S. State Department had "no comment" when asked by this correspondent about its reaction to a tragic incident near the Afghan border point of Towr Kham where a group of reporters, including Soviet correspondents, came under fire from Pakistani territory on Nov. 16 and several newsmen were injured.

The spokesman, who works at the State Department's press section, said that he did not have anything to say about the incident at the moment but did not rule out the possibility that some commentary could be offered later.

Asked if the State Department had any position on attacks on correspondents staying in areas of military activities, he only said that apart from Kabul, there were no American nationals elsewhere in Afghanistan and that the State Department had warned U.S. journalists against staying in areas of hostilities.

Afghan Prime Minister Sends Cable to Ryzhkov

LD1211231188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2102 GMT 12 Nov 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Afghan Prime Minister Sharq has sent a telegram to Comrade Ryzhkov from on board his plane. The telegram reads:

Flying over the territory of your beautiful country at the end of my visit to the United Nations, I wish to express my best wishes for good health to you, and for further progress and prosperity to all Soviet people. It is my belief that the traditional friendship between our two countries will grow stonger in the interests of our two peoples and in the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

TASS Details Combat Action in Afghanistan

Protest Note to Pakistan

LD1711001788 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 16 TASS—A number of major operations to eliminate intransigent opposition groups have been carried out by governmental troops. 505 extremists were killed and about 450 wounded during the past 24 hours in the Herat, Paktia, Badakhshan, Balkh, Zabol, Nangarhar and Qandahar Provinces, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported. 7 foreign military advisers and 11 Pakistani border millitia men were killed in the Qandahar Province. A large quantity of ammunition and equipment was captured.

The Afghan mass media continues to comment on the Jalalabad-Towr Kham highway release operation in which 140 rebels were killed and 150 wounded. The operation was a major victory for the Afghan Army, Colonel Amir Muhammad, a representative of the army command, said in a BAKHTAR interview. Anti-government groups, supported by elements of the Pakistani border militia, tried to cut the highway which links Kabul with the border town. The extremists' plans were thwarted due to swift and efficient troop action. The highway is now open for traffic. The representative of the command also said that about 170 civilians were killed in missile bombardment of Jalalabad suburbs in the past few days.

Foreign Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan 'Abdul Wakil met K. Fodert, director of the regional branch of the United Nations High Commissoner's Office for Refugees, now on a visit here. Problems concerning the return of Afghan refugees were discussed at the meeting.

The BAKHTAR News Agency reported that a yet another note from the Foreign Ministry of the republic has been handed over to representatives of U.N. observers in Kabul. It cites new evidence of the Pakistani authorities' violations of the Geneva agreements.

Operation on Border

LD1711040988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1853 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul, 16 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondents Yuriy Tyssovskiy and Aleksandr Snastin report:

A large group of journalists today visited a border region in eastern Afghanistan which was liberated from a counterrevolutionary group as a result of a successful operation by Afghan Government forces. An extensive area of territory has been cleared of formations of the armed opposition. The road linking Jalalabad, the center of Nangarhar Province, with the border town of Torghah has been opened.

In a conversation with journalists, Lieutenant General 'Abdul Chafur, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Afghanistan and commander of the I Army Corps, stated that the operation began on 9 November by forces of his unit. Government forces, made up of three divisions and three corps, began moving forward from the region of Sarowbi, which is situated half-way between Kabul and Jalalabad. In 3 days of engagements they advanced 135 kilometers. On Sunday evening the Afghan flag was again raised over the border town of Torghah.

Lt Gen 'A. Ghafur noted that the opposition had lost 96 men killed and 71 injured and that a large amount of military equipment had been destroyed. Losses among the officers and men of the I Army Corps were minimal.

The journalists were shown military equipment captured from the extremists. Among them are rockets, grenade launchers, field guns, mines, and small arms. To one side stood trucks and buses that had been used by the "irreconcilables" to transport arms and fighters.

The Afghan forces were faced by 5,000 well armed bandits from the Yunis Khalis group, among whom there were Pakistani, Chinese, and West German advisers. As for the Afghan forces, the whole operation was conducted without the participation of Soviet advisers, 'A. Ghafur said.

Nonetheless, the situation in the region of the Afghan-Pakistan border continues to be tense. A convoy of armored personnel carriers which was escorting the journalists on their trip was fired on by rockets 10 km from Torghah. The firing came from the territory of Pakistan. One rocket exploded in the direct vicinity of a convoy of combat vehicles. Seven journalists and one Afghan soldier were wounded.

Surface-to-Surface Missiles Used

LD1811095788 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The Afghan Army delivered powerful missile strikes at rebel troop concentrations in the areas of Sarkanai, Konar Province, and Mohmand, Nangahar.

According to a military communique carried by the news agency BAKHTAR, the new surface-to-surface missiles killed about 200 extremists and destroyed a big amount of the enemy's combat equipment.

Fierce fighting continued in the past day in Qandahar and Paktia, where about 100 rebels were killed, and in other Afghan provinces.

In Baghlan, a Pakistani military adviser was killed and his two bodyguards from among extremists were taken prisoner.

Up to 60 people died in the past two days in clashes between practically all rebel detachments grouped in the "Alliance of Seven."

The communique said a truck carrying arms and munitions from Pakistan to armed groups of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" struck a mine, laid by rebels, in the area of Javcar, near Pakistan's border.

On Thursday, rebels again fired several rockets at Jalalabad, administrative center of Nangarhar Province, killing seven citizens and wounding four others. The victims included women and children.

BAKHTAR reported, quoting reliable sources, that a foreign reporter, who had illegally crossed into Afghanistan from Pakistan, was killed on November 5 in the area of Vatapur [placename as received], Nangarhar.

The reporter's name and nationality were not reported.

The reporter and three guards, who were accompanying him, were killed by a group of Muhammad 'Ali, commander of the "Islamic Society of Aghanistan", with the purpose of taking possession of the reporter's property, including expensive cameras.

Syrian Premier Sends Greetings to Ryzhkov

PM1711114788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Syrian Premier al-Zu'bi's greetings to Ryzhkov on Soviet revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

It gives me pleasure to express to you and the Soviet Government the most sincere congratulations and best wishes from the Syrian Government and myself on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was an important victory for socialism and a reliable support for the peoples struggling for freedom, independence, development, and progress.

The October revolution's victory was also a firm support for the Arab nation in the struggle to achieve their national goals.

I am confident that the friendly and mutually advantageous relations between our countries will continue to consistently expand and strengthen on the basis of our common approaches and joint struggle against imperialism and backwardness.

I am taking advantage of this opportunity to wish you personal happiness and health and to wish the friendly Soviet people progress and prosperity.

[Signed] Mahmud al-Zu'bi, prime minister of Syria

Metropolitan Filaret Comments on Visit to Syria
PM1711083988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Metropolitan Filaret Ends Visit to Syria"]

[Text] Damascus, 15 Nov—Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate Foreign Church Relations Department, has been on a visit to Syria.

The Russian Orthodox Church delegation, Metropolitan Filaret said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, arrived here at the invitation of Patriarch Ignatius IV of Antioch and the Entire Orient. The purpose of our visit is to strengthen friendly ties with the ancient Church of Antioch, with which we have historically fraternal and friendly relations. Furthermore, during the current visit we strove to deepen contacts and cooperation with representatives of the Muslim world.

We value the slogan "Without nuclear weapons by the year 2000," and it is close to our hearts, Metropolitan Filaret went on. The Russian Orthodox Church's efforts are aimed at the implementation of this slogan. This goal is pursued in our contacts with representatives of all religious forces in today's world.

During the stay in Damascus Metropolitan Filaret and the delegation accompanying him were received by Syrian Vice-President Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah and Minister of Religious Trusts 'Abd al-Majid Tarabulsi and had meetings with a number of the country's religious figures. The delegation visited a number of monasteries and churches in Damascus and its suburbs and toured Syria's historical monuments.

The Russian Orthodox Church delegation left today for Lebanon, where it will have meetings with the heads of the Christian churches and leaders of Muslim communities.

East Europe

Gorbachev Replies to Polish Workers
LD1811052688 Moscow TASS in English 0516 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—The latest edition of the Moscow weekly NEW TIMES carries Mikhail Gorbachev's replies to workers of Polish culture and science under the headline "Socialism Is Capable of Renewal."

The Soviet leader had a discussion with them last summer during his friendly visit to Poland. A number of the participants in the meeting later sent their letters on problems discussed. The weekly offers its readers Gorbachev's replies.

"The conclusion we have made about the priority of universal human interests and values in the nuclear age in no way means departure from the Marxist-Leninist philosophy," he observed, in particular. "On the contrary, it fully matches the humanistic meaning intrinsic in this philosophy."

The Soviet leader shared the view of the meeting's participants that the Marxist thought should be more active in opposing outdated dogmas.

"Dogmatism has had negative consequences for the life and policy of socialist countries, for their approaches to world process," he observed. "Both our theory and socialist society itself have paid a heavy price for that."

The Soviet Communist Party had adjusted its cultural policy after April 1985, the Soviet leader remarked. "Its principal task is to create maximum conditions for free creativity with a view to promoting the spiritual development of society, its education, humanization and moral advancement."

"At present, more than three years since the start of the process of perestroyka, one can state: the ideological union between the country's political leadership and creative intelligentsia concerned the fate of its motherland has been restored," Gorbachev said.

The Soviet leader noted that perestroyka, or restructuring, had also spread to the sphere of relations between the state and the church. "This is an important aspect of our domestic policy which is directed at consolidating society with due account for the entire diversity of interests, views and convictions of its individual groups and sections."

On relations among socialist countries, Gorbachev stated: "The notions that the diversity of ways of building a new society and the existence of specific national and state interests of each socialist country constitute an annoying hindrance to their unity have been relegated to the archives once and for all.

"In the light of new thinking we have realized full well that it is the ability to draw useful lessons from this diversity for everyone, rather than unification and general levelling that make up the most reliable basis of unity."

Poland's Rakowski, Orzechowski Receive Yagodin

PM1711083388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties"]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Nov—M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, made a positive assessment of the development of Soviet-Polish cooperation in the public education sphere. He was receiving G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, who is on a visit here.

During the conversation they noted the importance of the 1987 declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture for the stepping up of this fruitful cooperation.

G.A. Yagodin was also received by M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

USSR, GDR Sign Commodity Turnover Protocol

PM1711085988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Talks between USSR and GDR Government delegations ended here 14 November, and a 1989 commodity turnover protocol to the USSR-GDR 1986-1990 agreement on commodity turnover and payments was signed. The GDR will continue to occupy a leading position in the Soviet Union's foreign trade, with the USSR remaining the GDR's main partner.

In drafting the protocol the sides were guided by the accords reached at meetings between the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries and by the long-term program for specialization and production sharing between the two countries.

The protocol was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties, and G. Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade.

On the same day K.F. Katushev was received by W. Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

GDR's Mueckenberger Hails Friendship With USSR

PM1711092188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Account of interview with Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, by own correspondent V. Lapskiy under the rubric "Facts, Events, Opinions": "Hearts Devoted to the Revolution"—date not given, first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Berlin—Seventy years ago a revolution which proclaimed as its aim the transfer of power to the working people won a victory in Germany. One of this revolution's first precepts was class solidarity with the land of October. Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of German-Soviet Friendship Society, talked to IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Lapskiy about that time full of heroism and dramatic events and about the solidarity between the working people of our countries which was born during those years.

On 9 November 1918, E. Mueckenberger said, hundreds of thousands of soldiers, workers, and Berlin residents marched to the center of the capital under red banners. The resistance of reactionary officers was swiftly crushed. From the balcony of the Hohenzollern Palace Karl Liebknecht proclaimed Germany a free socialist republic. The country had reached a watershed in its history. The following day the newspaper of the Spartacus League DIE ROTE FAHNE published a greetings message to the Soviet republic. It said that the German working class had marked the 1st anniversary of October by carrying out a revolution in its own country. I am convinced that there was a direct ideological link between the emergence of the communist party in Germany in late 1918 and the October revolution. This was also noted in the theses adopted a few months ago by the SED Central Committee Sixth Plenum to mark the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the KPD [Communist Party of Germany].

The KPD was born in the flames of the November revolution. Proclaiming the free socialist republic, Karl Liebknecht defined the historical tasks of that revolution. At that time he had the backing of a relatively small group of the German left wing, which described itself as the vanguard of struggling workers and soldiers and advocated the establishment of worker-soldier councils.

Our friendship with the Land of the Soviets was born during the revolutionary days of October. We members of the German-Soviet Friendship Society will always remember K. Liebknecht's passionate words: "If I had a hundred hearts, I would give them all to the revolution." Beautiful words! We regard it as a task of great importance to involve young people in the work of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, hand down the revolutionary traditions to them, and instill in them the

thought that our alliance with the USSR is among our priceless revolutionary gains and has been and will remain the decisive condition of the successful building of socialism on German soil.

Since May 1945 and the liberation of the German people from fascism our society has grown into a mass organization. Today it has a membership of more than 6 million. By our actions we seek to ensure that friendship between our countries and cooperation in all spheres are an everyday reality. Our society attaches special importance to the Moscow meeting in September of this year between Comrades Erich Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev. During the talks that were held it was emphasized that it is necessary to continue to resolutely work together for the benefit of our peoples and to expand cooperation in every way. Comrade Honecker said: "We will never forget that the upsurge of the GDR is simultaneously also a result of our constantly strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union. Relying on its all-around support, we have embarked on building socialism, and together we practice close cooperation."

The German-Soviet Friendship Society, like all GDR citizens, is convinced that the fulfillment of the decisions and directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the the 19th all-union party conference by the Soviet working people will be of tremendous importance for the cause of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the strengthening of peace and socialism. Under the leadership of our party we will contribute as best we can to the strengthening of the militant alliance between the SED and the CPSU, which is based on Marxism-Leninism and serves as an inexhaustible source of our creative potential, and we will also, in line with our specific tasks, take part in the maximum utilization of the advantages of socialism, combining them with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. We are trying to expand contacts between citizens of our countries in every way, weaving a living fabric of our friendship, so to speak.

We seek to organize our work, Comrade E. Mueckenberger said in conclusion, in the spirit of the 13th Congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, and we propagandize the SED's policy, our country's social and political gains, Great October's ideals, and the Soviet Union's successes in all spheres. We instill in people pride in the GDR and love of the socialist fatherland and we translate the behests of the German revolutionaries into reality.

Hungary Publishes Poverty Statistics

PM1711090388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov commentary under the rubric "Socialist Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries": "Budapest: Incomes and Benefits"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] For the first time in 40 years Hungary has published statistics on the subsistence wage and those strata of the population who require state and social assistance. This information will help the MSZMP and the government to work out new social policy programs. PRAVDA's own correspondent in Hungary, Vladimir Gerasimov, comments on this event.

What is a subsistence wage? In the opinion of sociologists, it is an income making it possible to satisfy only people's most modest, vital needs. It is possible, of course, to live on an even smaller income than the sum defined by the concept of a "minimum," but it serves as a reference point that helps to determine the categories of the population most in need of social support. The statistics conclude that in 1987 the income of 600,000 people (6 percent of the Hungarian population) was lower than the subsistence wage.

Whereas the average wage across the country is approximately 7,000 forints, the subsistence wage (per person) has been defined as 3,850 forints, according to specialists' calculations. In an average urban family with three children, each receives only 2,350 forints.

Forty percent of pensioners are in a most unfavorable situation. And although local councils allocate 500,000 forints per year for emergency benefit, and 40,000 elderly people, invalids, and large families regularly receive free support, sociologists believe that in the future bigger allocations should be made from the state budget for social aid and benefits. With the rise in prices, the real value of such fundamental forms of social insurance as pensions, child allowances, maternity leave, and unemployment benefit must be maintained.

West Europe

Britain's Thatcher Visits Reagan in U.S.

LD1611221888 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher started an official visit to Washington on Wednesday.

The U.S. press reports that over the entire period of Ronald Reagan's presidency, Thatcher was the most loyal ally of the USA and invariably supported the foreign policy course of the White House. Close ties between the two conservative leaders were reflected also in the speeches that they exchanged at the official ceremony of the meeting at the White House. The speeches were full of mutual praise and compliments.

Thatcher's negotiations with Reagan were started immediately after the ceremony. Her meeting with U.S. President-Elect George Bush is appointed for Thursday.

A high representative of the U.S. Administration said that questions connected with the situation in NATO will be central to debates. There are press reports that the

British prime minister intends to propose the holding next spring in London of a summit meeting of the NATO countries in order to work out a single stand on problems of arms control, modernisation of NATO nuclear forces, the level of military spending of member countries. The entire complex of East-West relations, including commercial and economic contacts of Western countries with the Soviet Union, problems of arms control, regional questions, the situation in Northern Ireland and economic problems will also be discussed during the talks.

The local press admits that the main purpose of the visit is not so much bidding farewell to Reagan, as the striving to establish a working contact with the new President of the USA. The newspaper USA TODAY noted shortly before the visit that Thatcher wants the Anglo-American alliance to remain strong during the new administration. According to the newspaper she also intends to warn Bush that despite colossal deficits of the federal and foreign trade budgets of the USA, any reduction of U.S. military expenditures or the numerical strength of the U.S. troops in Europe might lead to a split in NATO.

Comments on East-West Relations

LD1811000288 Moscow TASS in English 2350 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Washington November 18 TASS—Questions related to East-West relations should feature prominently on the agenda of the new American administration at the very beginning of its term in office, Britain's prime minister Margaret Thatcher told a news conference here, summing up the results of her official visit to the United States.

The head of the British Government called the contemporary period a historic time of opportunities for developing East-West relations. Thatcher noted that President Reagan, president-elect George Bush and herself will soon hold meetings with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. She said wide agreement was reached at the talks in Washington as to the course by which the West should abide in relations with the East.

The prime minister said that the agenda in the arms control talks was clear—to carry on the course the beginning to which was set by the conclusion of the intermediate nuclear forces treaty. This is, first and foremost, finalising the elaboration of an agreement on halving the arsenals of the strategic armaments of the USSR and the United States, effecting drastic and asymmetric reductions in conventional armaments and destroying chemical weapons. At the same time, Thatcher declared for continued modernization of the NATO "nuclear deterrence forces".

Touching on the problem of setting regional conflicts, the British prime minister stated about the need for new efforts to begin negotiations on solving the Middle Eastern problem under the auspices of an international Middle East conference.

British Military Concerned at Fleet Decline

PM1711114388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7

[A. Lyutyy "Rejoinder": "Backward Conversion?"]

[Text] The press reports that the British Parliament and Government are very concerned about the decline in the country's merchant fleet. Whereas, for instance, 40-odd years ago the former "ruler of the waves" had 150,000 sailors on its merchant ships, today that figure is down by almost seven-eighths.

On the one hand, the concern is understandable. After all, the situation that has been created objectively reduces the possibilities for foreign trade—and at the precise moment that East-West economic relations are going through a period of rapid growth.

But unfortunately in this case it is by no means commerce that is worrying people on the Thames. It turned out that the parliamentary defense committee was alarmed that in the event of a "crisis"—that is, the press explains, a war—the British merchant fleet would be unable as it stands to properly carry out its functions of transporting military cargo and personnel.

If the legislators are so deeply concerned about this problem, the Defense Ministry is even more concerned. In a report published the other day it warned, on the basis of its experience, that during a deteriorating international situation the shortage of British sailors on merchant ships could make it necessary to urgently hire citizens from other NATO countries or—if worst came to worst—from certain "friendly neutral" states.

Needless to say, Britain—like any other state, incidentally—is entitled to use its own tankers, cargo ships, and tugs in any situation, as it sees fit. Incidentally, during the 1982 Falklands adventure the British military department rapidly took charge of the merchant fleet. Things even reached the point where the luxurious ocean liner "Queen Elizabeth II" was used to ship soldiers and hardware to the South Atlantic.

But the question arises: Why is it precisely now—at a time when the problem of reducing military activity at sea is being seriously discussed—that London has suddenly started talking about a possible "crisis" and, correspondingly, about using purely peaceful vessels for different purposes? Doesn't this strike too discordant a note, given the sentiments currently prevailing in the world?

One would like to hope that in this instance we are not dealing with a calculated political act by the opponents of any warming trend in the international climate. Maybe it is just a question of excessive zeal on the part of the supporters of switching peaceful sectors of the economy back to military lines—a backward conversion, so to speak. In this case, why don't they turn their attention to British canning plants or the tractors used by British farmers? If necessary, the former could be reequipped as grenade factories and the latter as self-propelled guns. Should they so desire....

Television Agreement Signed With BBC

LD1811000788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] An agreement on cooperation between the British Broadcasting Corporation—the BBC—and Soviet television and radio has been signed in London.

[Correspondent V. Shishkovskiy, identified by screen caption] The document provides for a broad exchange in the field of television and radio broadcasting and, specifically, makes available a wide selection of television programs, including feature, documentary, educational, and children's films. The agreement will also constitute the basis for setting up joint programs and broadcasts. [video shows BBC television center, then BBC director general and an unidentified man exchanging copies of the agreement] [passage omitted]

NATO Seen Hampering Cyprus Settlement

PM1711113588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[V. Pustov "International Notes": "Seeking a Way Out of the Impasse"]

[Text] Intercommunal talks on settling the Cyprus problem are taking place intermittently in Nicosia. President Y. Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus and R. Denktas, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, are participating in them with the mediation of O. Kamilyon [name as transliterated], the UN secretary-general's special representative in Cyprus.

The talks were preceded by the events of 14 years ago. In 1974 forces of internal reaction attempted to carry out a coup against the legitimate government of Cyprus, with the support of the antipopular regime that existed in Greece at that time. Although that attempt failed, it was used as a pretext for moving a large contingent of Turkish troops into Cyprus. The country found itself split in two. A further 50,000 settlers from Turkey arrived in the northern part, where the majority of the population were Turkish Cypriots.

It was then that the island, divided by an artificial border, turned into a hotbed of dangerous tension. The situation was exacerbated still further 5 years ago. On 15 November 1983 the leadership of the Turkish community proclaimed the creation of an "independent state" in the northern part of the island—the so-called "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" [TRNC]. Its "defense" was ensured by a Turkish contingent of approximately 30,000 soldiers. It was an attempt to impart a semblance of legality to the de facto split in Cyprus. However, Turkey alone recognized the TRNC, which found itself totally isolated in the international arena.

The attempts made both by the United Nations and by the nonaligned movement to settle the Cyprus problem have been fruitless. The chief reason for this is the stand taken by the United States and a number of other NATO countries. They are concerned not about the present and future of the two Cypriot communities, or of Cyprus as a whole as an independent state, but with the desire to perpetuate their military presence on the island and to harness it reliably, and once and for all, to NATO's militaristic chariot. The thing is that in agreeing in 1960 to grant Cyprus independence, London secured the preservation there of two British "sovereign bases" and several other military installations. The United States in turn created a number of electronic surveillance spy stations on the island. And this is why NATO strategists would like to examine and resolve the Cyprus problem not under UN auspices but within the framework and in the interests of NATO.

The Soviet Union takes a different stand. Its repeated proposals have been aimed at achieving an all-embracing, just, and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem by peaceful means, with respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, unity, and nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, and with the demilitarization of its territory and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The convening of an international conference on Cyprus under UN auspices could positively influence the resolution of external aspects of the Cyprus question. President Y. Vasiliou has emphasized that the realization of the Soviet initiatives fully accords with Cyprus' national interests.

The answer to a question that naturally arises—what are the prospects of resolving the problem?—is still far from clear. All the more so as the participants in the talks have agreed not to reveal their progress or details in official reports. Both sides have voiced a desire to end the island's split. However, their positions do not coincide on the question of the path to take to achieve this goal. Opinions differ, for example, with regard to the Turkish troop withdrawal and the structure of the future federative Cypriot state, for the sides do not interpret the concept of "federation" in the same way.

Y. Vasiliou and R. Denktas have accepted an invitation from UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar to meet with him in New York 22-23 November to discuss the

results of the first round of talks, which began 15 September, and probably to agree on the program of the second round. The complex, difficult talks have to be continued in the search for a way out of the impasse. The significance of this problem extends far beyond Cyprus itself.

Projected Greenland Airbase Discussed
PM1811094388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[APN correspondent S. Serebryakov article: "Perch for 'Hunters'": "Pentagon Tries To Dig In Firmly in the Arctic"]

[Text] In early November, when the Danish and Greenlandic authorities announced that they had agreed to a preliminary study of the possibility of constructing a new NATO air force base on Greenland's east coast, they hastened to make this news seem almost ordinary, the APN correspondent in Denmark reports to the editorial office. Seemingly nothing unusual is happening. There is a 1951 Danish-U.S. agreement on U.S. bases in Greenland; anyhow, NATO claims, it is just a question of an airfield open to both civilian and military aircraft. According to the assurances of Admiral Lee Baggett, chief of the NATO Supreme Allied Command, Atlantic, the alliance needs the new airfield as an alternative to the U.S. Air Force base in Keflavik (Iceland), which is often closed because of unfavorable weather conditions. Antisubmarine aircraft, F-15 fighters, and AWACS aircraft are based in Keflavik. At the same time Copenhagen officials stress that consent to a preliminary study does not mean an automatic go-ahead for constructing the base.

But there is every reason to believe that the U.S. admiral is telling only half the truth, and that the Danish authorities are deliberately presenting the affair as something banal. Closer analysis of the situation reveals prospects which are far from "harmless."

First, the explanation of the need to back up the airfield in Keflavik is evidently designed for people who are totally naive. The area of the planned NATO base in Greenland—the hamlet of Mesters Vig or further north—is 900 km north of Keflavik and is characterized by harsh Arctic conditions, with frequent snow, ice, fog and blizzards. In addition, when Keflavik has been closed because of fog, warplanes have been able for decades now to land in Scotland or Norway.

Second, the need for a civil aviation link for this part of the island is minimal. This is what Otto Steenholdt, member of the Greenland Parliament representing the Atassut bourgeois party, who does not doubt the project's purely military nature, believes. "I am firmly convinced," he says, "that the intention is to create a military base here." Captain First Rank Erik Sorensen, spokesman for the Danish Defense Ministry, indicated in an interview with LAND OG FOLK that in all probability it is a question of a facility which will include an airstrip, fuel dumps, navigational equipment, and a building to house personnel. The "preliminary feasibility study" will be financed by the program to develop the NATO infrastructure.

Third, despite the fact that the investigation of conditions on Greenland's east coast will begin only in spring next year, appropriations for the construction of a new air force base on the island are already penciled into the North Atlantic bloc's budget for the coming years. According to a report by the largest Icelandic newspaper MORGUNBLADID, it is expected that the project will cost NATO in the region of U.S. $200-300 million, once more underscoring its military nature.

But the main point is obviously not the individual event, but the overall role which the Pentagon and NATO assign to Greenland in preparing for a hypothetical war in the Arctic. "From a purely strategic viewpoint, east Greenland is the best place imaginable for building the airfield," Gunnar Gunnarsson, a leading specialist in military-political problems, told a correspondent from the Danish agency RITZHAUS BUREAU. "Mesters Vig—one of the possible sites for the new NATO base—is a splendid starting point for aircraft on a search-and-destroy mission against Soviet submarines in the Greenland and Norwegian Seas, and also in the Arctic Ocean." From this viewpoint the plans for constructing a new base in Greenland are nothing but a further development of the existing NATO infrastructure for waging a war in Arctic conditions.

There are two U.S. bases on the island—in Sondre Stromfjord and Thule—which are capable of taking Hercules transport aircraft, fighters and strategic bombers, and also submarine "hunters" and Orion aircraft. For example, the base in Thule has an airstrip 4.5 km long and, its authorities admit, has some of the largest fuel stocks among all the world's bases—about 400 million liters. A powerful phased-array radar, which makes it possible to detect enemy missiles and their warheads and also to guide one's own missiles to targets, operates in Thule in violation of the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty. These characteristics are of decisive significance for ensuring a first strike potential. The Americans' unwillingness to allow Soviet experts access to the radar, and still less to incorporate the station into the system of a worldwide space organization, only confirms the seriousness of the Pentagon's intentions with regard to Greenland.

And it is not only at U.S. bases that military activity has developed. As far back as August last year SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA discussed how the Americans, under the guise of scientific research, use the Danish military base on the island as much as possible in order to prepare for submarine warfare in polar waters. Under the guise of "oceanographic and acoustic research," a special U.S. expedition consisting of 100 soldiers and civilians works every year within the framework of the so-called

"Outpost Heritage" project at the "Nord" station, whose prominent position in the north of Greenland the strategists call "ideal." The aim of this project is to provide the U.S. Navy with the capability to detect and track Soviet submarines, and also maintain contact with its own submarines and bases at ultra-low frequencies in an underwater situation. Pentagon strategists are hoping to obtain through research valuable information in the areas of acoustics, magnetism, temperature, and ocean currents in exceptionally complex Arctic conditions, in order to secure military superiority in antisubmarine warfare on the basis of this information. Danish military observers do not rule out the idea that in time the Americans will try to turn "Nord" station, which also has a 1.8 km airstrip, into a permanent base.

In Greenland, which follows the central Copenhagen authorities on questions of defense and foreign policy, although it is a self-governing territory of Denmark, the plans to expand NATO capacities for waging war (for which read: nuclear war) in the Arctic may give rise to a serious political crisis. For these plans contradict both the island's nuclear-free status and the policy aimed at the Arctic's full demilitarization, which Greenland's indigenous population is implementing within the framework of the Arctic Circle Association of Inuits (Eskimos). "Greenland is not up for sale and has no desire to be the arena for a third world war," Arqaluk Lynge, chairman of the opposition left-wing party called Inuit Ataqatigiit, stated. Many people here think that the buildup of military activeness is simply inappropriate when East and West have either already implemented or are preparing major reductions in nuclear and conventional arms, and also at a time when Moscow is actively advocating implementation of the Murmansk program to reduce military confrontation and organize peaceful cooperation in the Arctic region.

It has recently become known that Denmark has agreed to Greenlanders' requests for fresh talks with the United States—this time with Greenland's participation—on the question of bases on the island. The 1951 Danish-U.S. treaty was signed before Greenland obtained self-governing status, and its inhabitants were not even asked about their attitude toward the permanent U.S. military presence on their territory. The future will show how carefully the Greenlanders are heeded this time. The problem is that the islanders will have to put their case not only to Washington but also to the official Danish authorities, who hitherto have set an example when it comes to obediently following NATO's lead.

Deputy Premier Kamentsev Receives Faroese Leader

PM1811142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 16 November V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Atli Dam, head of government of the Faroe Islands.

There was an exchange of opinions on questions of developing mutual economic cooperation, including in the sphere of fishing.

R.A. Thorning-Petersen, Danish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, was present at the talks.

Austrian CP Chairman Cited on Glasnost

PM1611093188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Abridged reprint of VOLKSSTIMME interview with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, under the heading "Virgin Soil of Revolution"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The newspaper VOLKSSTIMME published a conversation between its chief editor, Michael Graber, and Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria. We publish the conversation below, in a slightly abridged version. [passage omitted]

Question: Comrade Muhri, restructuring in the Soviet Union, including glasnost—that is, openness in the mass media, the newspapers, and so forth—has placed us Communists in new conditions. The Soviet Union is conducting a comprehensive and sometimes even contradictory discussion on all aspects of the development of socialism, history, and also on topical political issues. It is rather difficult to properly find your bearings in all this diversity of opinion. After all, it used to be the case that we mainly heard the opinion of the party.

Answer: This great, comprehensive, deep, and serious discussion in the Soviet Union is something new and, on the whole, something that undoubtedly contains some very positive elements. After all, this far-reaching process of transformations in all spheres of Soviet social life requires broad, deep discussion. This is the only way you can really bring about changes in the way people think (and this is a precondition of any transformations). This is the only way these transformations can be achieved. Any real discussion demands the frank expression of different opinions, mistaken opinions included. This is, after all, the essence of the socialist pluralism of opinions currently being discussed.

This trend in the Soviet Union naturally means that we must draw a distinction between the course adopted by the party (after discussion at the Central Committee plenums and the 19th all-union party conference, for example) and personal views expressed during discussions on issues on which no decision has yet been taken, which are still being discussed, and on which the party is still only formulating its opinion. However, in the heat of discussion, personal opinions are also expressed which literally run counter to the line already taken by the party. This is the case in the Soviet Union—different

stands arise during discussion (during the active discussion of the past, for example) and also extreme positions, whereby some people see nothing but mistakes in virtually everything. Gorbachev has spoken out decisively against this.

And another thing: We must clearly distinguish between the real aims of restructuring and the distorted notion of these aims which Austria's numerous mass media daily try to create with regard to restructuring.

Question: Comrade Muhri, over the past weeks and months we have witnessed large-scale movements, some of them nationalist, in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and some parts of the Baltic region. Many Communists are literally appalled by the fact that, even after 70 years of Soviet power (although in some republics, of course, it has not been in existence for so long), things have gone as far as nationalist demonstrations of this kind. How can we explain this?

Answer: For a long time we have seen an unrealistic approach to nationalities issues and attempts to embellish the situation. For all the differences between the situations in Armenia and Azerbaijan on the one hand, and the Baltic region on the other, we can say nevertheless that there does exist a considerable potential for nationalism, even national chauvinism, and that this nationalism and chauvinism do have a base among the masses. This is mainly explained by two things: On the one hand, there are the historical factors, the negative traditions of the past, which obviously are still continuing to have an effect; and the second reason is that national equality has not been consistently practiced everywhere during the building of socialism; errors have been made, and these are the source of the new nationalism and nationalist chauvinism.

However, I would also like to say this: Despite all the problems, difficulties, and contradictions in this sphere, we can and must nevertheless proceed from the fact that, on the one hand, socialism has achieved considerable success in the task of developing backward nations and nationalities in the economic, political, and cultural spheres. It has managed to achieve a considerable level of equality. Secondly, we must be confident that nationalities problems will find a positive solution, and that the existing problems can only be solved on the basis of socialism. Moreover, after thorough preparation, a special Central Committee plenum in the Soviet Union will deal with these issues.

Question: During discussions with socialists, we Communists are sometimes accused of scorning democracy under the conditions of socialism. The Soviet Union is now moving toward a qualitatively new stage of democratization, which is often spoken of as its own brand of "democratic socialism." So surely the socialists who put forward these arguments have, unlike us, been proven right?

Answer: The point of restructuring lies not only in rectifying mistakes and openly admitting them, or even in overcoming bureaucratic methods of leadership and so forth, which have undoubtedly constrained democracy—the point of restructuring lies also in the qualitatively new level of socialist development which has become possible only as a result of the preconditions created during the 70 years of building socialism. This is one side of the matter.

The other side (which is undoubtedly even more important and vital to the future) is that Gorbachev himself, and the CPSU Central Committee course and line he upholds, also meet with a positive response in the international arena, in Austria as well, and even among socialists. We can only welcome this. The lie about a threat has been refuted by current realities as never before. This also applies to the allegation that there is no freedom in the Soviet Union, not even freedom of criticism, and that Communists are the "enemies of democracy."

In this situation, there is every reason to reject anticommunist prejudice in the Austrian Socialist Party, establish new relations between Communists and Social Democrats on a national and international scale, and take positive steps here, particularly in the interests of preventing the nuclear destruction of mankind.

Soviet, Spanish Aides Discuss Mideast Problems

PM1711162188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] Soviet-Spanish working consultations on the Near East were held in Madrid 14-15 November. V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, and Kh. Deskalyar [name as transliterated], general director of the Spanish Foreign Ministry Africa and Near East Administration, took part. The discussion concentrated on questions concerned with solving conflict situations in the region.

Specific ways of seeking a just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, based on consideration of the interests of all parties, were examined. The interlocutors said it was necessary to increase efforts and practical steps to convene an international conference on the Near East involving all interested parties, including the PLO.

A stance in favor of developing the process of talks between Iran and Iraq and solving contentious issues on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598 was confirmed.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Stops Over in Tashkent

LD1711151088 Moscow TASS in Engish 1435 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Tashkent November 17 TASS—Today Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev made a stop-over in Tashkent, Soviet Uzbekistan, on his way to New Delhi for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Indian Government.

Supsov Group Discusses 'Suggestions' on Drafts

LD1811163888 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—A special body formed by the commissions for legislative proposals of the two houses in the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) has received more than 100,000 suggestions to the discussed draft amendments to the national Constitution and electoral law.

The commission held a session in the Kremlin today to discuss the proposals and amendments received over the past days from citizens, work collectives, state and public organizations and mass media bodies.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the constituent republics, mass media, experts, scientists and executives.

It was noted at the meeting that the current discussion attested to an unprecedented upsurge in the people's social and political activity that became possible thanks to perestroyka policies, broadening of glasnost and democracy.

The draft laws are getting extensive support and approval.

Soviet people regard them as realization of the ideas set forth at the 19th national party conference. They note in their letters that the aim of the draft laws is to secure people's power and involve masses of people in the participation in running the country's affairs.

Their adoption and implementation will turn soviets, or governing councils, into bodies of people's self-government with full powers.

Various views are expressed on the drafts, the commission receives many critical letters and constructive proposals. They have all been examined at the previous sessions of the commission, many have already been included in the draft legislation.

The work on generalizing the incoming suggestions is continuing.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Picketed

LD1811111488 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Today's [Lithuanian Supreme Soviet] debates on the state plan and budget were already marked for adherence to principle and clash of opinion. A number of deputies and most of all, perhaps, chairman of Lithuania's National Trade Union's Council Lionginas Maksimova, raised the well-founded question whether the next year we shall manage to curb the inflation rate and whether we shall live better.

Deputies and groups of deputies had a lot of questions to ask the ministers-MP's on country problems. Some deputies also touched on tomorrow's constitutional items in their speeches. So MP Albina Arkeviciene, a field workers' team leader from an agricultural farm in mid-Lithuania, read an appeal of the Kaisidorys District electors on the draft amendments to Soviet Constitution. Among other things, the appeal urges the deputies to the Soviet Union's Parliament for Lithuania to express their protest by leaving the hall if the draft amendments are submitted for discussion at the session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow.

While the session's sittings were being held a large- scale picket was staged outside the building of the Supreme Soviet during the break for lunch. Taking part in it were from several hundred to several thousand people. The picketers held placards and slogans expressing their attitude towards the draft amendments to the Soviet Constitution and the proclamation of Lithuanian as the state language of the republic. Corresponding slogans and emblems showed that the picketers also involved adherence of the Vienyba-Yedinstvo- Jednosc (?motion) which is an alternative one to the Lithuanian reform movement "Sajudis". Their concrete demand was that the session not proclaim Lithuanian as the state language. There were peaceful debates with them. Keeping order among the picketers were people from the "Sajudis" movement wearing green bands on their sleeves.

Yesterday the Lithuanian reform movement staged a big rally in the same place.

Session Rejects Reform Proposals

AU1811165388 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Vilnius, Soviet Union, Nov 18 (AFP)—The Lithuanian parliament on Friday unanimously rejected proposals for constitutional reform which would have precipitated a showdown with Moscow.

The parliament notably rejected a motion, similar to that adopted Wednesday by neighbouring Estonia, which called for the republic to have the final say on the implementation here of federal Soviet laws.

Moscow had reacted strongly to the Estonian vote, and had called a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to rule on its constitutionality.

After the vote, on three separate motions, clearly-disappointed representatives of the local Popular Front, a recently-set up nationalist organisation, marched out of parliament saying they would "address the people" before deciding what to do next.

Further on Situation in Estonian SSR

Ryutel Defends Legislation

LD1711213288 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 17 Nov 88

["Echo of the Day" program]

[Text] A session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November adopted an amendment to Article 74 of the republic's constitution, to the effect that that the supreme bodies of power of the Estonian SSR may in certain cases suspend or determine the limits of adopting legislative and other acts of the USSR.

Considering this amendment and a number of other documents adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to be at variance with the tenets of the current USSR Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to examine this question at its next session, inviting representatives of the Estonian SSR to attend.

The Legislative Proposals Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers have been instructed to present to the Supreme Soviet Presidium their considered findings on this question which affects the basic principles of the formation and unity of the Soviet Socialist Federation.

We have asked Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to comment upon this news.

[Begin Ryuytel recording] We knew very well that our extraordinary session was going to sit down and discuss very serious problems, first and foremost because those problems and questions are crucial for restructuring. As is known, it is not possible to continue restructuring if we do not prepare legislation for this accordingly. In essence, legislation should precede the problems of restructuring; we must foresee what kind of problems are ripening in society and accordingly prepare legislation for this which would create favorable opportunities for restructuring to continue.

I have already talked about this at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, so that for me these questions or this statement are not news. During the session situations were also undoubtedly changing by the minute, by the hour, and evidently this also should be considered quite normal in present-day political life. It cannot be otherwise, if the masses are to participate in politics, as we have appealed to them already at the 27th congress and at the 19th all-union party conference. It is only possible, together with the people, to really implement restructuring, I mean in depth and not on the surface, superfically. [end recording] We have also asked Arno Almann to comment upon the situation from the juridical point of view.

[Begin Almann recording] Undoubtedly the processes which are taking place today in society do not always fit [word indistinct] into the framework of the existing and valid law. There are of course also such law principles which are of general application, and one of these law principles of general application is fixed in the USSR Constitution which is in force at the moment, in Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which says that USSR laws have equal power on the territory of all union republics and that in the case of a discrepancy between a republican law and an all-union law, the USSR law is to be enforced.

If we now compare this reaction with the resolution, with this amendment to the Constitution which was made at the session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, then we can see a principled variance: All-union laws do not become valid automatically on the territory of our republic, but there is a prior registration of them by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, according to the procedure which will then be established by the Presidium. I would add that this does not exclude that the all-union will come into force here. The question lies only in the legal guarantee which has been suggested by us in respect of those laws which may restrict the republic's sovereign rights or guarantees in respect of those laws which endeavour to regulate those questions which should—and which according to law do—belong in the jurisdiction of the republic.

Why did this constitutional amendment of ours, however, come about? This did not come about through anybody's discretion or anybody's will. This amendment was called for by the discussion of the all-union draft laws, in particular the discussion on drafts of the Constitution, because those drafts envisaged, however, several essential provisions restricting the rights of the republic. The given legal conflict is in this case legitimate. [end recording]

Public Supports Federal Amendments

LD1711194388 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Exceprts] The proposed draft laws on changes and amendments to the constitution and the electoral system remain in the focus of attention of the Soviet public. They are put to a nationwide discussion. Boris Markovnikov writes:

[Passage omitted] On 16 November the draft laws came under discussion at a session of the supreme soviet of the Baltic republic of Estonia. As we have already reported in the news bulletins, the Estonian parliament, by a majority vote, refused to accept the proposed constitutional amendments in their current form. The session spoke in favor of the priority of republican law over national. I'm not a legal expert, so I can't comment on this decision from a legal point of view, writes Boris Markovnikov. I can only illustrate in what measure the decision reflects the attitude to the proposed draft legislation in the country. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR has already received many letters from Soviet citizens. The authors of only 700 of such letters disprove [as heard] the amendments and of more than 80,000 approved of it. They also make concrete (?submissions) and suggestions. This is a sure sign that the Soviet citizens are confident in their belief that the current laws are indispensible for the realization of the political reform, since they contribute to the current policy of restructuring. In other words, they will help promote democracy and will become a practical step towards building a lawgoverned state in this country.

Estonian Constitutional Amendments

LD1812140788 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1820 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session on 16 November—read by unidentified correspondent]

[Text] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves to make the following amendments and addenda to the Estonian SSR Constitution:

Article 1. To alter the last paragraph in the preamble of the Estonian SSR Constitution and to word it as follows: An inseparable part of the Estonian SSR Constitution is the international pact [not further identified] on economic, social, and cultural rights; the international pact [not further identified] in respect to civil and political rights; and provisions of other international pacts and declarations defending human and civil rights which have been generally recognized by the countries of the world and which have been ratified by the Soviet Union.

Article 2. To add section 3 to Article 4 of the Constitution with the following wording: Citizens and juridical entities in the Estonian SSR are guaranteed court protection of their constitutional rights.

Article 3. To alter sections 1, 2, and 3 of Article 10 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and with the following wording: The foundation of the Estonian SSR economic system is socialist ownership of means of production by means of state and cooperative ownership, as well as public organization and public movement ownership. Within the Estonian SSR economic system are also (?private) and mixed forms of management. The state protects all forms of ownership and creates conditions for (?them to increase their property).

Article 4. To alter section 2 of Article 11 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and (?word it in the following way): The Estonian SSR is the sole owner of the land, the earth beneath our feet, the atmosphere, internal and territorial waters, the continental shelf, forests, and other natural resources. The essential means of production in industry, agriculture, and construction all owned by the Estonian SSR, as well as means of transport and [word indistinct] state banks, the property acquired by the state for trade, municipal, and other enterprises and the the essential stock of housing in towns, as well as any other property which is necessary for the Estonian SSR to accomplish its tasks.

Article 5. To alter Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution and by adding the following wording: USSR laws and other normative acts will come into force on the Estonian SSR territory once they have been registered according to the procedure established by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has the right to stop or to determine the extent of application of a USSR legislative or [any] other normative act if the act violates the sovereignty of the Estonian SSR or regulates questions which according to the Estonian SSR Constitution are within the authority of Estonian SSR or which do not consider the special features of the republic.

In Article 6 amendments are made to a whole string of articles in the Constitution where after the word "public organizations" also [words indistinct] "public movements" [are added].

New Council of Ministers Chairman

LD1811125388 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Summary] Today's session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet elected Indrek Toome, currently secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, as chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers. The previous chairman Bruno Saul, has been appointed trade representative to the GDR. Vaino Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, was elected to serve on the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Gosplan Chief on Economic Autonomy

PM1711164488 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 88 p 11

[Dialogue between Doctor of Economic Sciences Reyn Otsason, chairman of the Estonian SSR Gosplan, and Vladimir Sokolov, editor of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA economics department, under the rubric "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's Practical Dialogues": "Economic Accountability of the Republic"—date, place of dialogue not stated; first paragraph is Sokolov introduction]

[Text] Literally on the eve of our conversation, Doctor Otsason, director of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, was appointed chairman

of the Estonian Gosplan. A good sign for the journalist—you see, in such high posts executive functionaries are being replaced by experts, people with accurate knowledge! For the scientist, it is an opportunity to turn his theoretical calculations into the substance of economic ties and results, so it is not surprising that my conversation with Reyn Augustovich began on a high note. Moreover we were to discuss regional economic accountability, around which so many hopes and possibilities have already been woven...

[Sokolov] Reyn Augustovich, first we must get to the bottom of this term, which only appeared recently, as far as I can tell. What is "regional economic accountability"? How did it first come to be discussed, and so widely, at that?

[Otsason] There was a reason, you know. In February of last year, during his visit to Estonia, M.S. Gorbachev told us that the Estonian SSR sells goods worth R2.5 billion to the other republics, but acquires from them goods worth R3 billion. I will make no secret of the fact that these figures came as a great surprise to everyone. Until then we had assumed that we work no worse than the other republics, and indeed from many factors it is apparent that in terms of the production of national income per head of population we hold one of the top places. So how can this be? If we cannot feed ourselves, who can? Naturally, the economists began to study the matter in greater depth, and then some very interesting facts emerged.

First, according to Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] figures, there was the same unfavorable relationship between imports and exports in 13 republics out of 15 (!). Only Armenia and Azerbaijan, according to the statisticians, export more goods than they import. So does this mean those two republics feed all the others, including the RSFSR?

Second, it emerged that none of the republics is capable of correctly calculating the income it produces, because exports are calculated by the statisticians on the basis of one set of prices, and imports on the basis of another set of prices, which are often several times higher. Therefore the republics that export a great deal find themselves, as a rule, worse off. They reckon up agricultural output without the subsidy that the state gives to purchasers, and it therefore turns out that the more food products a republic produces, the lower its national income per head of population, in the statisticians' view.

[Sokolov] So M.S. Gorbachev's information was useful?

[Otsason] Very. We made precise calculations, and it turned out that if even a few of the most obvious errors in pricing are corrected, the republic's balance of income and expenditure approximately tallies. That was the spur. Back in September of last year, an article by a group of economists and sociologists appeared in a republican newspaper in which the question of regional economic accountability was formulated very succinctly.

[Sokolov] Was that the first time this concept was formulated?

[Otsason] No. It has been current among scientists since the mid-seventies, but the problem of economically accountable relations among the USSR's territories had not been properly studied. I first encountered the term "regional economic accountability" in one of the speeches at the 27th CPSU Congress.

[Sokolov] In that case, why did you mention specifically that article in the republican newspaper?

[Otsason] After its appearance, the question of republican economic accountability ceased to be a purely scientific matter and took on the nature of a major political issue.

[Sokolov] Then let us first of all give a scientific definition of it, so as to make it easier to examine the political aspects.

[Otsason] With pleasure. Regional economic accountability is a form of economic management of a region as an economic unit whose expenditure is covered out of the income from its activity, while the leadership of reproduction processes is exercised by the organs of management of the region as a single whole. Cost recovery [samookupayemost] and self-management are the levers of economic accountability for a region in just the same way as at enterprise or association level.

[Sokolov] The levers are the same, but the arm is much longer—a whole republic. In view of the power they will acquire in action, we should take into account all the possible consequences of these "self..." levers.

[Otsason] Economic autonomy does not mean isolation from other republics. There are a great many channels of communication and trade exchange between us, and they will remain. But you should not confuse business contacts with the present absurdly centralized management. There was a case where the republic prime minister raised with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the question of allowing Estonia to decide for itself... its cake recipes.

[Sokolov] For export?

[Otsason] If only it was! No, for the cakes we make ourselves and eat ourselves. Permission was not granted, just imagine. But there are also more serious matters in our lives on which the republic should take autonomous decisions. People want to live in a clean environment, they want transportation to be well organized, they want food supplies to be uninterrupted, they want the stores to have enough goods. On the other hand, we know that it

is not only the quality of cakes that is affected by the dictatorship of the central departments. Some of them carry on in their own way without worrying about the population's well-being or about the territory's future, or even, sometimes, about the elementary efficiency of their own production units.

[Sokolov] The power complex in northern Estonia?

[Otsason] For instance. In order to save resources, they made the power station in such a way that an enormous quantity of sulfurous gas and ash is discharged into the atmosphere. Or take the story of the phosphorite mines which it was proposed to set up in the northeast of Estonia, this time by the union ministry for fertilizer production. People in the center took account of their own benefits and advantages, but would not see the indescribable danger to the region—after all, the rivers that supply nearly half of Estonia with drinking water have their sources there.

[Sokolov] The danger has not passed, I imagine?

[Otsason] Only the first attack was halted. This only demonstrated once again the helplessness of republican organs in defending the region's interests. At the same time there are a huge number of factors that only the region can and should manage, in the way that is advantageous to the region and to the Union as a whole.

[Sokolov] But there are also factors that require sector management.

[Otsason] Yes, of course. But if the two kinds of factors are assessed objectively, those that require regional management will still be a clear majority.

[Sokolov] It would be useful to know at least what the most important ones are.

[Otsason] One of the most important ones is the organization of the regional labor market. Professional training, the control of migration, economic substantiation of wage levels. Other important factors are the organization of the region's scientific potential, transportation system, retail trade and the service sphere, environmental conservation, comprehensive utilization of natural resources, wholesale trade in the means of production... I could go on, and they would all be important. For instance, we lose millions of tons of peat because the Ministry of the Coal Industry finds it convenient to extract only shale from the earth, it does not need the rest. Yet for the region, all these resources are equally valuable.

[Sokolov] But there is the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). There, the key concept is autonomy for the enterprise, which appears to liberate the territory too.

[Otsason] That is an illusion! The law on enterprises is not really working yet, precisely because on the decisive points it retains the ministry's authority over the enterprise. The official at the center decides what sum an enterprise should contribute to the centralized fund—can you imagine a more open disregard for the producer's interests?

Therefore when we think about realistic ways of going over from administrative management methods to economic methods, we can see, taking Estonia as an example, that one of the preferable ways is self-management for the region. Then regions can organize wholesale trade in their own goods on the basis of reciprocal agreement—that will eliminate the need for all links to go through a single center in Moscow, although some of the most important aspects of trade could be organized by the Gosplans of the union republics with the participation of the USSR Gosplan. That would be a major step toward decentralization of material and technical supply.

[Sokolov] Incidentally, the law on the enterprise has been in force since 1 January of this year. Why is there still no wholesale trade in the means of production?

[Otsason] The explanation people give is that we are still living within the framework of the old 5-year plan, and therefore the Law on the enterprise can only be brought fully into operation in 1991. But didn't we know what 5-year plan we were living in when we adopted the law? There is simply no concrete program for the transition from today's management system to the system we need. It seems to me that regional management offers a lever for this transition.

[Sokolov] You mean regional economic accountability could form the economic basis for the democratization of our society?

[Otsason] Judge for yourself. Theoretically, in our country every republic, oblast, city, and even village has its own budget. In practice, all the budgets are determined by the center. Each local organ has to make a proposal for what expenditure it wishes to make in the coming year, and then ask the higher body for permission for that expenditure. The people "at the top" examine the future expenditure, permit some, refuse others, and then add up what they have agreed to and "send down" as a gift the plan for... income.

[Sokolov] Exactly the opposite of a family budget.

[Otsason] Our budget is a marvel, there is nothing like it in the world. Each republic, kray, or oblast plays the part of a supplicant, a dependent. And dependence is death to initiative. It is purposeless to work better, but there is much purpose served in writing letters asking for help. It is important to know how to beg money, food, feed, goods, you name it, that is more important than to know how to make them. With a wonderful budget like that, a

city cannot decide for itself whether to build a hospital, or a village whether to build a school, local soviets cannot even decide on their own workers' salaries. Everything is decided centrally.

[Sokolov] Then the question of the budget should be a key question for regional economic accountability.

[Otsason] Yes, it will have to begin by restructuring the budget system. Payments from all enterprises, organizations, and private individuals should be paid into the republican budget, which will therefore have an interest in efficient work on their part. The republic will contribute a certain sum to the union budget for federal expenditure—transportation, communications, administration, defense, and so forth. This sum should be distributed among the republics according to some objective criterion, of course. Perhaps according to population numbers. But after this priority payment has been made, the remainder is entirely at the republic's disposal. The rest is its own affair. If you want to build houses, roads, kindergartens, stores—fine, build them. What if you want to embezzle income for bribes? But in this case spending will take place under much stricter public control than under the present system, when everyone expects "help" from the bottomless pockets of the state.

[Sokolov] The illusion of the bottomless pocket is, alas, supported by the printing press that prints money. And the region, incidentally, has no printing press.

[Otsason] Precisely! The region, republic, oblast—they are simply forced to conduct their economy efficiently, otherwise they risk ending up without an economy at all. Almost the same principle could be organized in cities and rayons—let them calculate their income and expenditure like any family. We will thereby rid ourselves of the huge machine of bureaucratic centralization, develop democracy and self-management, and give the deputies the real opportunity to decide for themselves whether they want to build a school for their children with or without a swimming pool.

[Sokolov] Thank you, Reyn Augustovich, we are now familiar with the basic features of your concept. But what is of exceptional interest is the details, which for some reason are not discussed much. In any case, the items in republican newspapers where I have read about regional economic accountability do not cover these details. For instance, how does your model differ from the regional economic councils [sovnarkhozy], which lasted such a short time in our history?

[Otsason] The very great defect of the regional economic councils lay in the separation of political and economic power, because the borders of the regional economic councils did not coincide with administrative borders. In the big republics this separation caused contradictions (incidentally, in our republic, where there was no such difference in borders, the regional economic council was valued highly). Their second shortcoming was that the transition to the regional economic council was not accompanied by a democratization of the management of enterprises. There was no provision for wholesale trade. In fact, one system of centralization was replaced by another, equally rigid. A third feature was that there was no resulting democratization of management in the localities, in the rayons and cities.

[Sokolov] And what is the relationship between political and economic power in your model?

[Otsason] Regional economic accountability will operate within the limits of the political competence of union republics, oblasts, rayons, and cities.

[Sokolov] In criticizing the centralized nature of our economy, we speak of the sometimes inadequate competence of departments and their inattentiveness toward the region's needs. But is there any certainty that management centers within regions will prove more competent or more responsible?

[Otsason] Yes, there is that certainty. All social life, including economic life, will be subordinate to the individual's interests. Control by the masses of the activity of leaders will at last become possible. After all, today an inhabitant of a union republic cannot criticize his government over the lack of meat in the stores—he knows everything is distributed from the center. And the center is a long way away. Things are going relatively well in the center. It is another matter if the rayon soviet is responsible for the rayon's meat supply—the deputy has every opportunity to make a complaint to the ispolkom. This is the only guarantee. But it is sufficient.

[Sokolov] Apart from regional interests, there are also the country's interests. Will the region place them above its own, or will they become secondary for it?

[Otsason] Let us try to get to the bottom of this. Unionwide interests are nothing but interests that are common to all regions, are they not?

[Sokolov] Not always.

[Otsason] Why not?

[Sokolov] In some cases they could come into conflict, just as the interests of an individual can come into conflict with the interests of the collective.

[Otsason] I do not agree. Yes, of course, I admit that what is useful for 13 republics might not be useful for 2. Indeed, our transition to economic accountability might not be equally useful to all. But clearly the majority should decide. After all, the advantages of participation in the union outweigh the significance of concessions on individual matters. In general, I want to say that there are no regional interests that are not simultaneously the interests of the majority of regions.

[Sokolov] Of the majority—perhaps, but of all of them—by no means always. All regions need electricity, but no one wants to build power stations in their own region, not even hydroelectric or thermal power stations, to say nothing of nuclear ones—that is just one example.

[Otsason] Politics is the art of coordinating interests. Moreover, the converse is also true—there are no union-wide interests that are not important to the majority of regions. But to abuse the concept of the unionwide interest is to promote excessive centralization.

[Sokolov] Excuse me, Reyn Augustovich, but a region will not be free from that shortcoming, either. It will inevitably place the interests of the whole, that is, its own interests, above the interests of the part, that is, the rayon, city, or village—that is in the nature of any center, big or small. Coordinating the interests of the parts within the region is no less important than coordinating the regional interest with the interests of other regions of the country. And no less complex.

[Otsason] I agree. But at present we often fail to coordinate them at all, everything is decided by a directive from the center, and there, they do what they like.

[Sokolov] But what I want to know is how a considerably more complex system than the directive system of coordinating interests at so many different levels will work. Will it work at all? After all, republics making payments to the union budget have the right to control its expenditure. And if someone decides that this or that item of expenditure is unlawful and reduces its payments—what then? Economic sanctions? Or if a city thinks that the region is spending its taxes wrongly—will it be able to change the amount of its contributions itself? Of course not. And that means that the system of directives and sanctions will not disappear, it will only break up and move a couple of tiers lower. Will this not mean that while reducing the bureaucracy at the center we will be developing it, willy-nilly, in the localities?

[Otsason] Of course it will—if we once again lack consistency in establishing the principles of cost recovery and self-management at all levels, from the farm to the region. Bureaucracy can be opposed by only one thing—the people's own initiative.

As for interests... Suppose each republic has the right to regulate its own relations with the others. In order to have enough money, each of them will seek to produce and sell more goods than it buys from the others.

[Sokolov] Or to obtain the maximum price for its own goods! After all, we have a division of labor, each republic has a monopoly of something, and for the republic, as we have already established, regional interests come first. What can you do? Escape from your own people by going to the foreign market? You have no currency. Regulate prices from the center? That means directives and pressure again.

[Otsason] Certainly, for some types of output the need for a mutually agreed (and in that sense centralized) system of prices will remain. Even if all the regions go over to economic accountability, for 10 or 20 of the products that are most important or that are in short supply the question of equivalence must be decided centrally. That is no great problem. For other goods, which are not in such short supply or which even allow for competition between republics, matters should be resolved directly. I see no problems here. Of course there are priority unionwide interests—defense, for instance—and their needs must be considered first. But for the rest, the interests of the region and the Union should be of equal importance. Although obviously enterprises' contractual commitments to the state should be fulfilled first and foremost.

[Sokolov] That is to say, the question of priorities is not yet sufficiently developed in your model. Fine. Another question—will not regional economic accountability lead to still greater inequality in quality of life across the union? After all, some republics have developed industry, skilled cadres, and a good infrastructure, and will go to the market with highly profitable output (and they did not achieve all this without the help of the others). Others will be able to offer mainly raw materials and poorly trained manpower, and economic accountability will "dock" their present subsidies from the state budget and in effect curtail ecological and medical programs. Does your model take this into account?

[Otsason] Yes, certain regions have enormous advantages over others. They have oil, particularly favorable natural conditions, an advantageous geographical position, and so forth. That should doubtless be taken into account in determining their payments to all-union funds. Conversely, programs of assistance to needy regions could be financed from those funds. But in general the question of the inequality of the quality of life across the Union is reminiscent, if I may say so, of wage-leveling. But we have already grown accustomed to the idea that economic accountability at enterprises leads to differentiation of their incomes, and that is precisely what should be encouraged.

[Sokolov] At enterprise level—yes, I agree. If a factory goes bankrupt, people will move to another factory or the service sphere. But a region is not a factory, you can't just discard it!

[Otsason] There is no need for that, a region cannot go bankrupt. It will always ensure a certain standard of living. But at the same time every republic should have a guarantee that working better than your neighbor really does mean living better than your neighbor. If the labor in one regoin is more highly skilled, then objectively the reproduction of manpower there will require greater expenditure.

[Sokolov] But if the inevitable differentiation, as you put it, becomes firmly established, then the rich regions will start wanting to resolve their own problems, ecological problems, for instance, at the expense of the "paupers." As regards electricity, a rich republic will prefer to buy it rather than producing it, so as not to pollute its environment and not to use its own resources. Will that be fair?

[Otsason] Is it fair today, when one republic makes enormous efforts to increase its scientific potential, and at the same time has to make equally enormous efforts to obtain mineral raw materials? As for ecology, I think that under economic accountability a region will have a considerably greater interest than at present in the rational utilization of its own resources, even when environmental pollution is necessary. It will be able to balance its gain in national income against the expenditure necessary to protect the environment. But departments are unable in principle to reason in that way.

[Sokolov] Fine, Reyn Augustovich, let us proceed—I have not finished my questions yet. How will a region structure its relations with the foreign market? After all, clearly, given the slightest opportunity to increase its currency revenue, it will do so.

[Otsason] To the benefit of the whole community, Vladimir Nikolayevich. The greater a region's currency assets, the more currency it will contribute to union funds.

[Sokolov] And if a certain region establishes permanent close ties with the foreign market, will it not turn into something like the special economic regions in China with which we are familiar?

[Otsason] I don't think so, because the Soviet Union sets itself different tasks in its restructuring from China. We are talking about retooling our developed industry, not creating industry from scratch. It is another matter that in certain advantageous geographical zones it would be possible to set up special technopolises—channels for the exchange of leading science and technology. We in Estonia are studying these possibilities to some extent, but that is another matter to be tackled within the framework of regional economic accountability.

[Sokolov] And what do you think, will regional economic accountability not increase the centrifugal forces in our Union, which are already emerging in various forms?

[Otsason] You know, surprising as it may sound, I think economic accountability will eliminate the main causes of these centrifugal forces. After all, we also want the responsibility for our problems to become regional. And secondly, we want to create a system such that every republic feels that membership of the Union does not damage its interests, but on the contrary, helps and protects it. And protects it not only in the sense of the defense of territory, but also through the stable benefits of economic ties between regions and readiness to provide help in an emergency—a crop failure, a natural disaster, major accident, and so forth. We should not fear the transition to an economic base for the integration of interests.

[Sokolov] Fine. Let us assume that regional economic accountability has begun to operate in full in one republic, or several. The living standard has improved, the market is full of high quality goods, and working and living conditions have improved. But an upsurge like that is in itself impossible without protective measures of some kind, without barriers to protect the zone of prosperity from other, less developed territories.

[Otsason] True, in general. The elementary, noneconomic train of thought says—since barriers are necessary, let us build them, let physical boundaries spring up between republics. But that is impermissible, of course. There are economic methods of achieving the same result, without partitioning off the country with physical barriers. True, it appears that we are not yet ready to grasp these methods corectly.

[Sokolov] All the same, let us try.

[Otsason] Exactly. If we transfer to the republic the full burden of responsibility for its own economy, then we could, and for economic reasons should, apply some form of protection of interests like separate money. Only please do not make the mistake characteristic of the ordinary perception: that separate money means a separate state. Economic analysis has led me to conclude that Estonia, for instance, could have separate money without disrupting the unity of monetary circulation in the Soviet Union.

[Sokolov] How?

[Otsason] There is every reason to make this money convertible with the all-union ruble.

[Sokolov] But not one to one?

[Otsason] Obviously. The regulation of the exchange rate will offer a means of strengthening the interest of other republics in buying or selling goods. Suppose a republic exports less than it buys, suppose too many tourists go there to shop, then it will increase the exchange rate for its currency. The influx of tourists is restricted, trade exchange comes close to equivalence—and the relationship between the currencies is lowered again.

[Sokolov] The EEC is trying to abolish the large number of currencies and is discussing a switch to a single monetary unit. And we are to do the opposite?

[Otsason] It would be more appropriate for us to compare ourselves with the Europe of 25 years ago, when they had severe inequality of development. Now they

have evened out to such an extent that a single monetary unit has some point. We are also proposing "separate money" as a temporary measure, until the republics even out.

[Sokolov] But what about the right of a USSR citizen to buy what he needs in any store in the country?

[Otsason] The savings bank would exchange one republic's money for another republic's money for him. In Moscow he could change any money into any other money.

[Sokolov] An unprecedented measure.

[Otsason] Yes. Our Soviet Union is also unprecedented. It is the only federal stage whose parts, under the Constitution, have the rights of sovereign states. This kind of formal autonomy does not exist in the United States or Canada.

[Sokolov] The United States manages without regional money.

[Otsason] But they have private enterprise, which seeks (and is able) rapidly to level out the differences between regions.

[Sokolov] But we don't have private enterprise. And I am afraid that these differences, backed up by "separate money," will not only fail to level out, but will begin to grow even more intensively. And that will inevitably increase the migration to "prosperous" regions, unless sufficiently tough restrictive measures are adopted.

[Otsason] For us, migration is already a big problem today.

[Sokolov] Will regional economic accountability help to reduce unwanted migration? Surely it will make Estonia even more attractive than it is today.

[Otsason] If we are talking about the sovereignty of individual republics, we must also talk about separate citizenship for each republic. There is probably potential here for restricting migration.

[Sokolov] That means that citizenship should be established on the basis of nationality? What about representatives of other nations who live in the republic?

[Otsason] Ethnic relations in Estonia are normal, everyone feels comfortable here—Estonians and non-Estonians. All those who live permanently in the republic should be full citizens of the republic. The continuing unjustified influx of manpower from elsewhere is another matter, and that should be stopped.

[Sokolov] How?

[Otsason] By stopping the construction of new enterprises and developing the economy by intensive means on the basis of existing potential and resources. That is possible only with regional economic accountability.

[Sokolov] What other regions of the country are showing an interest in your ideas?

[Otsason] First and foremost Latvia and Lithuania. The Central Asian republics and Georgia are interested in our concept. Delegations from Kazakhstan and the Tatar ASSR have visited us.

[Sokolov] I will be frank, Reyn Augustovich, I like the "marketability," so to speak, of regional economic accountability. But I must also say that the economic and, in part, political barriers without which it is impossible do not coincide with my idea of democracy as a society of equal rights and opportunities for all its members. Moreover the barriers create objective preconditions for what some people in the region will regard as the logical next step: after economic autonomy, full political autonomy. Do you accept that development of the process?

[Otsason] No. The objective factor here is the common economic interests of the Soviet republics. Moreover, let us note the leading role of the CPSU in our society. Much work will have to be done to restore the authority of the party leader, but it will yield results.

[Sokolov] Is this work in progress?

[Otsason] Slowly, but yes. And new people are entering the leadership, people who know how to talk with the people and listen to the people.

[Sokolov] Are you yourself a member of the CPSU?

[Otsason] Yes.

Kazakh Central Committee Staff Cutbacks Planned

LD1812130488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0639 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Nov (TASS)—The number of those employed in the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee is to be reduced by approximately a third.

As a TASS correspondent has been told by Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the republican Communist Party, it has been decided to abolish altogether the departments dealing with industries in the party committees of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, as is the case with the CPSU as a whole, and to reduce substantially the total number of departments. Approximately (?300) apparatus workers will be laid off in the course of an identical reorganization in the obkoms.

"This represents a cardinal and deep restructuring of the entire work of the party committees which in their activities are going over from administrative and economic functions to political methods of leadership," said Kolbin. The specialists being released from the party apparatus will be sent to work in the state administration and in Kazakhstan's economic bodies.

The process of improving further the structure of and of reducing the party apparatus is currently taking place everywhere within the CPSU. Decisions on this have already been made by the plenary sessions of the central committees of Communist Parties in several USSR union republics. The restructuring of the party apparatus is taking place in accordance with the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Two Academicians Interviewed on Draft Laws

Gryazin Hits Changes

PM1811145188 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Igor Gryazin, chief of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, by correspondent E. Kekelidze under the rubric "We Discuss the Draft Laws": "Essence of the Matter"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Kekelidze] Could you please explain the essence of the matter—why have the proposed draft amendments to the USSR Constitution generated such a stormy reaction in the republic?

[Gryazin] To be brief, the draft amendments to the USSR Constitution contain a whole number of fundamentally new provisions which do not exist in the current 1977 Constitution. I would divide these differences into two categories.

First, the whole number of provisions which, without affecting the political system or structure, turn the Soviet Union into a less democratic state. For instance, whereas currently we elect people's judges, it is now envisaged to have them appointed by the local soviet. That is, the people's court is to be downgraded to the level of a department or subdepartment of the gorispolkom, thereby becoming even more dependent. Far more dependent, we would note, than was envisaged by the 19th all-union party conference.

The second group of issues is linked with provisions which are being given the most attention here in Estonia. These are the problems concerned with union republics' sovereignty. Hitherto neither Estonia nor other union republics have enjoyed real sovereignty—that is a fact. But formally it has existed. Now, if the amendments to the USSR Constitution are accepted, it can confidently be stated that there will be no sovereign Soviet republics left and the Soviet Union will cease to exist as a union of republics. It will be a Soviet socialist unitary state. Why? Article 113 Paragraph 7 states that legislation on property, wages, and price formation will now be under all-union jurisdiction. In other words, no republican property will be left; it will be confiscated. This means that union republic sovereignty will be a fiction, since the sovereignty is an edifice with foundations.

Second, Article 119 Paragraph 13 introduces for the first time the right of union central authorities—specifically, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium—to remove any republican authorities. In other words, under the new draft the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, and, quite honestly, I think even the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, as in all other union republics, will have power only provided the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium does not object.

[Kekelidze] Does that mean that nobody is interested in the votes we will cast at the elections for candidates to the republic's supreme soviet, or in our opinions?

[Gryazin] So it seems. And, you will note, not even the Congress of Deputies or the Supreme Soviet is entitled to remove authorities, only the Presidium has this right.

Here is another example. According to the draft, the level (or percentage) of union-republic representation in the supreme organ of power is falling. Hitherto 50 percent of the country's Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of Nationalities—represented, albeit formally, the interests of the union republics. Now they will make up just 30 percent of the Congress of People's Deputies. Here is another point. Whereas the Soviet of Nationalities has hitherto shared power equally with the Soviet of the Union, it is now proposed to separate functions so that so-called union questions, should they concern republic interests, should be dealt with primarily by the Soviet of the Union.

I would say that for the first time since 1941 the question is being asked: Should there be a state on Estonian territory at all? Or should the republic be turned into the Estonian oblast or region?

What needs to be said is that Article 108 Paragraph 2 places the adoption of resolutions on questions of the USSR's composition and ratification of the formation of new autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts as part of union republics under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies (where, we recall, only 30 percent of deputies will represent the union republics). Clearly, this could, if so desired, be interpreted in the following way: If, for instance, Estonia did something that did not suit the union authorities, the very next day it could be turned into an autonomous republic, which would have no sovereign rights even formally or by current standards.

[Kekelidze] Does that apply to any union republic?

[Gryazin] Yes. It is the end of sovereignty for all the republics, including Russia.

[Kekelidze] But surely Russia's sovereignty has in general been discussed at some point?

[Gryazin] Unfortunately not. And, incidentally, we don't always think about it.

[Kekelidze] One can see why there has been such a stormy reaction.

[Gryazin] I'm not saying that under these conditions the republic's economic accountability will be senseless or unreliable. We must now get for ourselves official permission for everything. Hitherto we had had certain rights, albeit formally; it was another matter if we did not make full use of them for various reasons.

[Kekelidze] You mean the 15 "sister republics" will cease to be just that?

[Gryazin] Yes. Completely.

[Kekelidze] What forms of protest could there be?

[Gryazin] There is one legally workable possibility in my view—preempting the adoption of these amendments by introducing into our republic's Constitution within the bounds of the current Constitution certain kinds of protective amendments to defend our sovereignty. In the wake of this there will most likely be contradictions between the union and republican (in this instance Estonian) Constitution, and this question will have to be resolved by negotiation. The fact is that the Constitution objectively contains contradictions. On the one hand, it states that in the event of a contradiction between constitutions at the legislative level the union law shall operate. On the other hand, the union Constitution states that each republic is a sovereign state, and sovereignty means supreme power, including the fact that priority belongs to Estonian SSR laws on Estonian SSR territory. This is an objective contradiction. It is a question for negotiation and for politics as to which of these two articles should be preferred. I as a lawyer cannot answer this question—it is up to the politicians to choose. I would say that it is a question of the deployment of political forces in the current restructuring situation. It is a question of the correlation of forces between the union and the republic, between advocates and opponents of restructuring, between progressive forces and conservatives, between democratic forces and bureaucrats, and so on.

[Kekelidze] What is Moscow's attitude toward these amendments?

[Gryazin] Many lawyers are indignant. There have been patent blunders in this area, even from the standpoint of a future unitary state. The draft was compiled without the participation of very many leading specialists. Just compare A. Yakovlev's interview in OGONEK with the proposed amendments—they are two different worlds.

[Kekelidze] Clearly. The second disputed question in today's situation is the republican draft law on language, which for many people has regrettably been overshadowed by the constitutional amendments. I'd like to say straightaway that we're not talking about the actual principle of giving the Estonian language the status of a state language—nobody argues with that. Objections are prompted by the specific draft, in which people have found much that is unclear or inaccurate while, conversely, not finding any guarantees for themselves.

[Gryazin] I understand. I'm prepared to admit that, first, the draft is poorly conceived. Second, it was published at an extremely inopportune time. Essentially this is an insignificant matter that could be quietly settled in the course of several years. It should not be forgotten that the transition to a state language should be carried out over quite a long period. One other point which has not been sufficiently taken into consideration is that a state introducing a state language must commit itself to guaranteeing opportunities to learn this language—and out of state funds, to boot. I believe that these economic prerequisites do not currently exist.

[Kekelidze] Nor, incidentally, does the material and technical base—people, money, methodologies, or textbooks.

[Gryazin] On the other hand, I think that the very fact that a state language is being introduced is a long-term and necessary task, but the conditions in which this will happen and exactly how it will happen are things on which I think more work still needs to be done. I think it is quite possible today to at least place on record the fact that a state language as such can and should exist. You would agree with that, I think?

[Kekelidze] Quite so. While stipulating guarantees for another language.

[Gryazin] The draft has not been worked through, that much is obvious. And today, when the situation requires all people living on Estonian territory to pool their efforts, it is all the more inopportune.

It also concerns the citizenship issue. Everyone agrees that citizenship should exist in principle—it's a question of the conditions. Right?

[Kekelidze] Right.

[Gryazin] And as long as there is no unanimity we will continue with the dialogues and discussions.

Kudryavtsev Sees 'Democratization'

PM1511134188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by N. Kishkin under the rubric "We Discuss Draft Laws": "Steps Along the Road of Democracy"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Kishkin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, certain ideas put forward at the 19th party conference are now taking on a legal shape—they have been enshrined in the draft laws on the reform of the political system. The editorial office is receiving many letters whose authors either fully support the proposed measures, or express doubts as to the correctness of individual provisions, and sometimes even object to them in general and submit their own proposals.

[Kurdryavtsev] Tell me, have you received any letters which suggest that nothing at all should be changed, that everything should be left as it is?

[Kishkin] No, we've seen no such letter.

[Kurdryavtsev] This is quite natural. There is broad understanding of the need for change, of the need to put an end to administrative-edict methods, political inertia, and civic passiveness. The proposed draft laws pursue this aim.

[Kishkin] Our mailbag includes letters whose authors say that they do not understand the essence of the proposed changes. There are also direct requests to explain specific provisions. In this context, in your opinion, to what fundamental features of the new structure of organs of power should readers' attention be drawn?

[Kudryavtsev] The text of the Constitution is complex. And it is difficult to consider constitutional norms in isolation. They can only be understood in context. So if you assess the package of proposed measures, their main aim is clearly visible. It is to transform the Supreme Soviet and the whole system of soviets in general into working organs, that is, organs which do not merely endorse adopted decisions, as they have done until recently, but themselves discuss decisions in detail and adopt them.

To this end, first, the soviets' social base is being expanded and the representation of broader strata of society in the country's supreme organ of power is being ensured. This is being achieved via the innovation of the right of public organizations to have their own deputies. These deputies will not merely represent voters living in a specific area, be it a national electoral okrug or an ordinary territorial okrug, they will represent public formations with a specific system of views and attitudes. All this will considerably enhance the democratic potential of the soviets and make them an all-embracing organization of the people, for it will enable us to take fuller account of nationwide, ethnic, class, professional, age-based, and other interests in our parliament.

This is a clear step toward democratization. But it is by no means the only one. Let us add the clearly defined principle of the division of the functions and responsibilities of executive and representative organs, the accountability of the government and ispolkoms to the soviets, and the incompatibility of the status of deputy with certain official positions. For instance, if you are the chief of an administration which comes under a rayon soviet or even if you are a minister, you cannot be a deputy at the same time because deputies are called upon to oversee your work. It is highly significant that the center of gravity of legislative work is shifting to the supreme soviets, at both union and republic levels.

[Kishkin] Could you give more detail about this, please. Judging by our mailbag, not all readers have spotted this feature.

[Kudryavtsev] The actual practice is that executive organs and the edicts which they issue have essentially gained the upper hand over the law. I have already cited the following figures elsewhere. During the whole existence of the USSR Supreme Soviet no more than 80 laws have been passed, that is, documents adopted directly by deputies. But there are hundreds of thousands of other enactments. According to our estimates, there are now more than a million edicts in force in the country which have been issued by ministries and departments and in whose adoption deputies had no part. For instance, the Aeroflot makes rules about the procedure for paying for or returning tickets. The Ministry of Communications is preparing to change the principles governing the payment of telephone bills, and municipal service departments lay down rules under which the client essentially has no rights at all. These "departmental" prerogatives are now being abolished. If you want to introduce a rule which applies to all citizens, you must obtain the consent of the deputies, that is, of the representative organ.

It is not difficult to see why administrative ordinances have gained such a strong position in our country. Departments function permanently while Supreme Soviet sessions met twice a year for 2-3 days. What could be achieved in such a short time? Nothing beyond the endorsement of documents drawn up deep inside various departments. Now the situation will change since the Supreme Soviet will become a permanently functioning organ. Sessions will last between 3-4 months. Deputies will have a real rather than just declared opportunity to decide a wide range of questions themselves. For instance, it will no longer be the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the State Committee on Prices, or the Ministry of Finance who play "first fiddle" in the legislative regulation of labor remuneration, price formation, or taxation, but the Supreme Soviet.

[Kishkin] Does this mean that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will no longer be able to adopt binding norms in the period between sessions—introduce a new article in the criminal code, amend the labor law, or set up a new ministry, for instance?

[Kudryavtsev] In my opinion, it will not be able to. Compare Articles 113 and 119, which define the powers of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and you will be able to see for yourself. In the past, the Supreme Soviet delegated, as it were, its legislative, administrative [rasporyaditelnyye], and control functions to the Presidium in the period between sessions. And the upshot was that binding norms were introduced by decree, they came into force, and then, 6 months or so later, deputies were obliged to ratify the decree, frequently being confronted with a fait accompli. You will recall the case of the decree on the taxation of cooperative members.

However, you had a valid reason to ask this question. It is quite obvious that Article 119 must be worded more precisely, stating plainly that the Presidium issues decrees and adopts resolutions with the exception of those in the nature of general normatives. Incidentally, I would like to draw readers' attention to the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will essentially be a completely new organ as regards not just the scope of its powers but also the method whereby it is formed: It will no longer be elected by the session, but be composed of people who are members ex officio.

[Kishkin] You mentioned the Supreme Soviet's control functions earlier. Are there any innovations in this sphere?

[Kudryavtsev] Can you remember a single occasion when a minister has given an account of his department's work at a session?

[Kishkin] Probably not.

[Kudryavtsev] Neither can I. During sessions which lasted only 2 days this would hardly have been feasible. Now such accounts will become the rule. For instance, voters are unhappy because cheap goods are disappearing from the range of goods produced by Ministry of Light Industry. So, Comrade Minister, be so good as to attend a session and explain why this is happening and what measures you are taking.

[Kishkin] Now Vladimir Nikolayevich, I would like to ask the questions which have evoked the greatest controversy and on which the most diverse and sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints have been expressed. For instance, the procedure for electing deputies representing public organizations is the subject of the liveliest debate. For instance, people call it a violation of the principle of direct elections and are afraid that this procedure will guarantee certain functionaries automatic election. The following view has also been expressed: Since public organizations have the right to nominate candidates in okrugs, let them nominate them there, let them compete there. What do you say to this?

[Kudryavtsev] First, I would not speak of a violation of a principle since two-thirds of the Congress of People's Deputies will be elected on the basis of direct elections. However, it is simply impossible to organize direct elections in the case of public organizations. Imagine that simultaneously with the voting in okrugs it is also necessary to organize elections among 140 million trade union members, 36 million Komsomol members, and so forth. So if we want to broaden the social base of the Supreme Soviet and involve such a great force as public organizations in decisionmaking on state affairs, it is necessary to make use of the proposed form of electing deputies at congresses or plenums.

The alternative of electing them in okrugs in the normal way is also unacceptable. After all, probably all deputies with the exception of the military are trade union members. Does that mean that they all represent trade unions in the soviet? Of course not, they merely represent the interests of their electoral okrug. But we want public organizations to be represented precisely as organizations, we want them to defend their own positions on an all-union scale through their own deputies, thus enhancing the democratic nature of the soviets. As for the fears that individual functionaries might abuse this procedure, I can only say that even very good laws are open to abuse. Therefore it will be up to each individual organization to establish a procedure for taking account of local-level views which precludes the selection of candidates behind closed doors.

[Kishkin] People are arguing a lot about the formula which states that one person can be a deputy in no more than two soviets and they insist on the principle of membership of one soviet only.

[Kudryavtsev] If the formula "in one soviet only" were adopted, it would disrupt the links between the various components of the system. Thus the chairman of a republic supreme soviet could no longer be deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Most probably, voters in many rayons would like the chairman of their rayon soviet to be represented in the oblast soviet, since this is dictated by the interests of the cause. After all, it was not the fact that a person was simultaneously a deputy of the Moscow Soviet, for instance, and the Supreme Soviet, which gave rise to problems. Problems arose because he did not attend to vital issues affecting life in the capital.

[Kishkin] One of the draft laws contains a norm stating that ballot papers, as a rule, include more candidates than there are mandates. Some readers propose that the reservation "as a rule" be scrapped, because they see it as a loophole for a return to the old ways, when there was a "choice" of one candidate. What is your view?

[Kudryavtsev] Legal norms must be formulated in such a way as to prevent an impasse. Imagine that in a specific okrug a most popular person has been nominated, the director of a major plant, for instance, who has done a great deal for people and whom the workers worship, so to speak. All other candidates have withdrawn their candidacies since they do not want to run against him and support him. What is to be done? Should the elections be called off? Should an artificial attempt be made to nominate someone who is bound not to get elected just to observe the formal requirements? Would that not also be formal democracy, only of a different kind?

Furthermore, it is no accident that when there is only one candidate a so-called "active ballot paper" is introduced. That is, a ballot paper which features only one name cannot simply be dropped in the ballot box (this would invalidate it), but either the word "for" or the word "against" on the paper has to be crossed out in order to actively express the voter's attitude to the candidate.

[Kishkin] There are many objections to the proposed procedure whereby judges are elected by soviets of their own level...

[Kudryavtsev] With regard to providing the best possible guarantees of the independence of judges, I would personally agree with these readers. Since the proposal that rayon judges be elected by oblast soviets was put forward at the 19th all-union party conference, I have been told more than once by rayon officials that this reflects a lack of trust in them. I do not think that this is a valid argument. After all, if you take this view, you might as well not change anything. You could say, for instance, that we will not separate executive and legislative power since this would show distrust of ministers. We would not get very far in this way. The point is not distrust, but the effectiveness of the design of the state system. The system must work, not the hope that no one will abuse an opportunity to influence a judge. In Hungary, for instance, judges are elected by the parliament, and in Britain they are appointed by the queen, and no one is offended by this.

[Kishkin] What do you think of the proposal to have, in addition to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, also regional constitutional courts to which citizens could appeal?

[Kudryavtsev] I do not know whether constitutional courts are necessary, but it's worth thinking about expanding the powers of the supreme courts at both union and republic level. For instance, proceedings have been instituted against a director for disobeying a ministerial instruction. The Supreme Court sees that the instruction is at variance with the Constitution but is nonetheless forced to convict. Why should it not be given the right at least to suspend such an instruction. This would in no way infringe the functions of the Constitutional Oversight Committee but would only complement them. Furthermore, it would also be useful to make a provision in the corresponding article for the right of citizens to submit their proposals to the committee.

[Kishkin] Some of our readers are worried about the wording of Article 124, which allows for no exceptions and says that deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet are released from their jobs for the duration of the soviet's whole term of office. They believe that these people will lose their skills and that this will cause a lot of damage to the country.

[Kudryavtsev] There are only two options here: Either you have a working parliament, and in that case you have to release deputies from their jobs, or we return to the deputy who merely votes, which no longer suits anyone. Surely a country with a population of 280 million will be able to spare 400 or so of them without suffering particular damage. And as for the categorical wording, it should indeed be clarified: Deputies should be freed from their main job, bearing in mind their wishes and possibilities. After all, in many professions it is simply impossible to lose all touch with your job.

[Kishkin] One last question, Vladimir Nikolayevich. Some letters suggest that more extensive amendments be made to the Constitution. For instance, that the preamble stating that a developed socialist society has been built in the country be changed. What can you say in response to these proposals?

[Kudryavtsev] Why only the preamble? I could name five or six areas where the Constitution needs to be improved. However, in order to travel the whole way, you must take the first step. And, as such a first step, the party has proposed a number of urgent measures to implement reform of the political system, without which we simply cannot make further progress now. The published draft laws are devoted to this. Work in such areas as the economic system, citizens' rights, freedoms, and duties, local self-management, the national-state structure, the legal system, and so forth lies ahead. All this takes time, thought, evaluation of the practical experience of restructuring, and a quest for optimum solutions. Today we are just beginning the complex and laborious work of democratizing the country's fundamental law.

Komsomol Plenum To Consider Democratization

PM1711140988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau examined at a routine session questions connected with preparations for the Komsomol Central Committee fourth plenum. The plenum will start work on 18 November in Moscow.

The plenum will consider ways of further democratizing the Komsomol and will discuss the account of the activity of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat since the Komsomol Central Committee and V.I. Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization Central Council Plenum and other questions.

Gorbachev Komsomol Anniversary Speech Published

LD1711002388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] A booklet entitled Restructuring and Young People: Time for Action, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with the young people of Moscow and Moscow area on 29 October, 1988 has been published.

The speech made by Comrade Gorbachev and his conversations with young Komsomol members during his visit to the capital's Palace on the day of the Komsomol's 70th anniversary are published in it, and it also contains photographs.

The booklet is published by Politizdat.

Latvian Writer Urges End to Soviet 'Occupation'

PM1711151188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by writer Alberts Bels: "Will Lenin Be Rehabilitated?"—first paragraph is reader's letter, second and final paragraphs are editorial comments]

[Text] Recently one avenue of criticism of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA has been that the newspaper does not publish items similar to those printed in newspapers published in the Lettish language. As a result readers of the Russian press have only one-sided information, or are even misinformed. I recently read in the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA (4 November) an article by prose writer A. Bels. Without giving an account of it I shall note that SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA readers should also be acquainted with the writer's ideas voiced in this article. Especially as his statements about the status of citizenship in the republic once served as the pretext for keen discussion in your newspaper.

[signed] Ya. Berzinysh

The 31 October televised "political debating club," at which representatives of the People's Front of Latvia and the International Front met, has undoubtedly met with a broad response among television viewers. That is why we publish the serious (and probably debatable) thoughts of writer Alberts Bels provoked in connection with that television broadcast.

Answering a question in an interview with the newspaper TSINYA on 3 October 1988 I said in particular: "I myself have considered the time from the summer of 1940 right through to the start of restructuring a time of national tragedy for the Lettish people. It has been a time of national tragedies for other peoples too." Answering the next question, incidentally, I said: "As Stalinism is exposed the word 'occupation' is also exposed." But the hand of some censor carefully struck out these ideas.

The game in a dark room continues. We Letts have been obliged to justify ourselves, even to apologize, for the fact we are still alive 48 years after the start of occupation. There are nearly 1.3 million of us! How many of us there really are no one even knows, because statistics instill no great trust. We are obliged to justify ourselves, almost to seek forgiveness, for the fact that the Russian language has not been recognized by law as the state language in Latvia! Although in practice it long ago became the state language. We are advised not to show on television "bad" scenes like those which the "Good Evening!" program dared to show. Does this also mean scenes describing how Stalin's airmen bombed Helsinki's residential areas in the fall of 1939 and where the Finnish people's fierce resistance to the aggressor's armada can be seen?

I realize that the question of ending the occupation of Latvia is a delicate one, since it affects the honor of our great neighbor. The de jure ending of occupation can happen only when occupation has been ended de facto.

In my opinion, it is clear to realistically minded people that the People's Front of Latvia was founded to resolve questions connected with restructuring, to help the party and people in creating a rule-of-law state. The implementation of the People's Front of Latvia program would in fact end the occupation without destroying the statehood of the Soviet Union or in any way encroaching on the might of that unique cooperative of peoples. It is a case where the aspirations of many people are in harmony with the aspirations of the entire country. The continuation of Stalinism would mean the path, sooner or later, to the USSR's destruction. The People's Front of Latvia program is correct and specific, rouses all peoples living in Latvia, and has constructive influence, consolidating the USSR. But it does not allow the Letts to be submerged any longer. And for the cosmopolitan bureaucracy, who have grown used to living at the people's expense, this program is like a splinter in the eye!

Still—the actual ending of occupation has already begun!

This is meeting with powerful resistance in Latvia.

In Lithuania all those deported in 1941 and 1949 have been rehabilitated. In Estonia all those deported in 1941 and 1949 have been rehabilitated. In Latvia only those deported in 1949 have been rehabilitated. In our republic there is a powerful reaction, excessive caution, and people act with circumspection. The game in a dark room is continuing. Various debates on television and in offices can be organized, views may differ, but the principles of elementary fairness should be respected; there should be clarity on all basic questions. It is the

artificial nurturing of ambiguity in Latvia which creates the ground for appeals to use physical force against the nationalists—by this word they mean the Letts. I think that even the cautious, diplomatically inclined censor who crossed out a statement of fact from an interview with a writer has been ranked as a nationalist. Occupation! The whole world knows this fact. All educated people in the Soviet Union know of this fact. Our children in Soviet Latvia know of this fact. Only people in the dark room repeat that there has been nothing of the kind and attack the only program which, for the first time in 48 years, has served not the destruction but the creation of the republic.

I believe the time will come when all victims will be rehabilitated. But until Latvia is free, until Estonia is free, until Lithuania is free—until then Lenin will not be rehabilitated.

Until Russia is free, until Belorussia and the Ukraine are free, until all the Soviet republics are free—until then Lenin will not be rehabilitated.

A union of free sovereign states was his idea. The world is watching. Lenin still awaits rehabilitation.

From the editorial office. A question to readers: Are reprints of such articles from newspapers published in Lettish of use?

Latvian Plenum Examines Party Apparatus Reform
PM1111080188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Oct 88 pp 1-2

[LATINFORM report: "Information Report on Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in Riga 25 October.

The plenum examined the question of forming the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee commissions and reorganizing the Central Committee apparatus and local party organs in the light of the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report at the plenum. He said: In accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, which recognized the need to fundamentally restructure the party's entire activity and raise the forms and methods of the work of party organizations to the level of the new tasks, the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum adopted the resolution "On Basic Guidelines for the Restructuring of the Party Apparatus." It particularly pointed out that very great significance attaches to the clear and consistent delimitation of the functions of party committees and state and economic organs, the overcoming of parallelism and duplication in their work, the radical altering of the structure and the improvement of the quality of the party apparatus, and its strict subordination and accountability to the party's elected organs.

The chief purpose of the restructuring of the work of party organs, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, is to ensure that they tackle truly party affairs and political, organizational, and ideological work and are closer to the people.

The role of Central Committee members and of all the Communists elected to the leading organs of the Latvian Communist Party is increasing significantly under these conditions. Each of us must directly participate in the elaboration of party policy, strategy, and tactics on the basic issues of our activity.

In this connection the bureau considered it expedient to form the following Central Committee commissions: Commission on Questions of State-Legal Work, Commission on Questions of Party Organizational and Cadre Work, Ideological Commission, Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Policy, and Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy.

The creation of the Central Committee commissions will make it possible to better utilize the experience of Central Committee members and ensure a broad and constant influx of fresh ideas and suggestions from working people on the party's elected organs.

What demands must be observed in the course of restructuring the party apparatus? The chief thing is to reject the apparatus' subdivision along sectoral lines and concentrate chief attention on the qualitative strengthening of the subdepartments which tackle the basic questions of party policy.

In the process of bringing the structure of party organs into line with the new tasks we must proceed from the premise that the party apparatus, being an integral part of the party's organizational structure, is called upon to be an active force of restructuring and an instrument whereby the elected party organs exercise their political, organizational, and educational functions and perform current work on realizing and checking the execution of adopted decisions and assisting lower organizations in their activities.

Party committees and their apparatus must now, in particular, implement the party's policy of society's revolutionary renewal and act creatively, using methods of ideological educational and organizational work and not watching over or fettering grassroots party links. It goes without saying that the work of the party apparatus must increasingly be distinguished by businesslike efficiency, glasnost, a critical slant, and everyday contact with the masses.

Such a function of the party apparatus as the attentive study and generalization of party work practice under the new conditions, analysis of the processes taking place in the political, economic, social, and spiritual spheres, and promotion of the spread of the best experience is also very important at this stage of the party's activity.

How is the structure of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus seen?

Above all, as better proportioned than now and less cumbersome. It is proposed to halve the number of departments and other subdivisions—from 16 to 8—and to reduce the number of staffers by 30.3 percent.

The Central Committee Bureau considers it expedient to create the following departments: Party Organizational and Cadre Work, Ideological, Socioeconomic, Agrarian, State-Legal, and General. There is also a need to preserve the Administration of Affairs and the Party Control Commission (until a Control and Auditing Commission is created). We also consider it possible to create a group of party organizers, which will work under the direct leadership of the Central Committee Secretariat.

In connection with the substantial changes to the structure of the apparatus, the distribution of functional duties among personnel must also, naturally, change, starting with the Central Committee first secretary and ending with the inspector.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee guidelines, there will also be changes in the apparatus of Riga party gorkom. These departments are proposed for it—Organizational, Ideological, Socioeconomic Development, and General Departments, and the Party Commission. At the same time the number of senior officials is being cut from 47 to 41, or almost 13 percent. The number of gorkom secretaries is falling from four to three.

As for the rest of the party gorkoms and raykoms, the number of staff workers there is not being reduced. It is proposed to have in the apparatus of these committees an Organizational Department, an Ideological Department, a General Department or Office Work Sector, and a Party Commission.

Thus the current reorganization of the party apparatus will rid it of functions that do not properly belong to it and impart more dynamism and operational efficiency, on the one hand, in resolving urgent questions relating directly to party work (organizational, mass political, and educational) and, on the other, in ensuring strategic studies of the planned course, realizing them, and stepping up analytical work and the forecasting of the development of sociopolitical processes.

We will no longer dissipate our forces and waste effort and energy on day-to-day management of the economy, as we do now. These functions, as well as everything connected with realizing current plan targets and targeted comprehensive programs and coordinating the efforts of ministries and state committees in resolving regional economic and social problems, are being transferred to the republic Council of Ministers and the corresponding soviets and their ispolkoms.

I think each of us understands that the reorganization of the party apparatus must not be regarded as an organizational action whose implementation will in itself make cardinal changes to all our work. It is just a precondition, a very important and substantial one, and yet a precondition of changes, a starting point enabling us to take a new step in the party leadership of all aspects of the life of society.

Precisely all aspects, and everyone must grasp this clearly. For no one has absolved nor will absolve us of responsibility for a comprehensive approach to resolving national economic problems, for accelerating socioeconomic development, for implementing the programs for raising the people's living standards and the political reform of society, and for the organizational-ideological support of restructuring.

It is another matter that we have to resolve all these problems with fewer personnel and in a new way, without getting sidetracked by details or wasting effort on trifles—using only political methods. The yardsticks of old concepts are no longer suitable for the new phenomena. Devalued by life itself and by the processes of restructuring, they must vanish into the past.

The times require party committees and all organizations to creatively reinterpret the forms and methods of internal party and mass political work, open up broad scope for Communists' initiative and activeness, develop democratization in every possible way, and assert glasnost and openness in work at all levels of party action.

But the chief point is that in resolving all tasks and questions we must proceed from life, be guided by common sense and the interests of socialism, constantly consult with people, and utilize the tremendous experience which we possess and which has been accumulated in recent years.

Restructuring has highlighted the role of the party apparatus in a new way. One way or another, directly or indirectly reflecting the sentiments current in society, party workers "suffer" from the same cares and problems and live with the same anxieties as all working people.

In my view, this is a natural and normal state. Just as natural and normal is the need to learn to work under the new conditions, to assimilate and apply new approaches, and to emancipate both one's own initiative and the initiative of Communists, many of whom still look to a

higher echelon before they act, awaiting guidelines and instructions "from above." It is, of course, not easy to learn this, but it is necessary. Vitally necessary.

The sociopolitical situation that has taken shape among us attests to the awakening of broad sections of the population to active involvement in all affairs in the republic's life. The Central Committee Bureau has defined its attitude to the processes which are taking place: We have always supported and will support every patriotic venture and every mass initiative aimed at implementing the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

This way of posing the tasks and the businesslike work on resolving them deserve all possible assistance from party organs and organizations at all levels of their activity. Everything healthy and useful that serves the people's interests accords with the aims and tasks which the party sets itself.

But there can be no question of complacency, compromise, or connivance in cases where anti-Sovietism, nationalism, and chauvinism, which sow interethnic mistrust and give rise to dissension and alienation among people of different nationalities, are insinuated under slogans of devotion to the ideas of restructuring or else are bluntly proclaimed.

All these and other attempts and feeble impulses of a similar antipopular and antisocialist essence must be decisively and fundamentally suppressed by party organs and Communists. In the name of the people's future, in the name of the future of every citizen of Soviet Latvia, what is needed is not confrontation but the consolidation of the forces of Communists and nonparty people, workers and kolkhoz members, scientific and cultural figures, and people of all nationalities and different creeds.

Success in party work at its present stage—a very difficult and complex stage—can be ensured only by politically mature and well trained Communists who possess high moral qualities and are capable of organizing things in a new, creative, and businesslike way.

Today we must not—not that we could—hide the fact that we still have organizers and leaders of party work who fear the masses, have lost the initiative, lag behind events, and are unable to forecast their consequences.

This is why it would be a mistake to regard the reorganization of the party apparatus undertaken by the party as a mechanical action which amounts just to abolishing certain subdivisions in them and merging others.

It is a question of more: of renewing the ranks of party workers, selecting skillful party organizers—true professionals and proven fighters—imparting, in the final analysis, a qualitatively new state to all our party organs, and giving them the status of organs of truly political leadership.

In the bustle of everyday life and the hurly-burly of petty cares we frequently forget that party cadres, starting with the Central Committee apparatus and ending with primary party organizations, bear special political responsibility. Responsibility for advancing restructuring not with empty words and slogans but with practical actions and consistently implementing party policy.

This has always been important. But it is doubly important today, in particular, when our entire society is on the move.

It has already been said that the improvement of the party apparatus will release quite a sizable number of experienced working people. It is necessary to treat them with care and attention and make sensible use of them in other work—above all, to strengthen important sectors of state, economic, and social activity, as well as lower party links. An individual approach, a principled stance, and ordinary human concern are needed in this important and urgent work.

In conclusion Ya.Ya. Vagris particularly emphasized that in resolving all the practical tasks placed on the agenda by the reorganization of the party organs' apparatus we are obliged to proceed from a clear understanding of the fact that considerable difficulties await us and that we will not have a tranquil, measured life.

The acuteness of the political situation caused by the stormy processes of restructuring and the growth of national consciousness and the knot of very complex problems that arose during the years of the personality cult and stagnation demand of each of us the maximum exertion of effort and mind, common sense, and principled approaches and leave neither time to get things going nor room for complacency or groundless hopes that everything will sort itself out and settle down of its own accord. It will not sort itself out or settle down. This must be clearly understood. We must proceed from this premise in organizing the work of all party organs, every party organization, and every Communist.

Hence the need for each of us, regardless of post and title, to work now as never before, to work sensibly, at full stretch, and as responsibly and efficiently as possible—in the interests of restructuring and for the good of socialism.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed. The plenum formed the following Latvian Communist Party Central Committee commissions: Commission on Questions of State-Legal Work (Chairman Ya.Ya. Vagris); Commission on Questions of Party Organizational and Cadre Work (Chairman V.P. Sobolev); Ideological Commission (chaired by a Central Committee secretary); Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Policy (Chairman Ya.Ya. Okherin); Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy (Chairman A.P. Bril).

Proceeding from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums and the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Reorganization of the Apparatuses of Local Party Organs," the following structure of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus was adopted:

Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department; Ideological Department; Socioeconomic Department; Agrarian Department; State-Legal Department; General Department; Administration of Affairs. The Party Control Commission under the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the party commissions in party gorkoms and raykoms remain until the control and auditing commissions are formed.

It was deemed expedient to form under the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat a group of party organizers from among experienced, promising party workers.

It was decided to have, as a rule, the following departments in party gorkoms and raykoms: organizational, ideological, and general (office work sector). It is proposed to have an additional Socioeconomic Development Department at the Riga party gorkom. There must be no more than three secretaries in party raykoms and gorkoms. Sectoral departments in party committees at all levels are abolished.

Organizational questions were examined at the plenum.

The plenum released A.V. Gorbunov from his duties as secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his election as chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The plenum met Yu.Ya. Ruben's request to be released from his duties as member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement on pension.

The question of electing a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee secretary was examined. A number of candidacies were discussed as a preliminary. At the suggestion of the Central Committee Bureau the plenum decided to include two candidacies on the secret ballot paper—those of A.Ya. Gruduls, chief of a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee department, and I.Ya. Kezbers, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Culture.

I.Ya. Kezbers was elected secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee by a majority of votes.

The plenum coopted V.-E.G. Bresis, chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, onto the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee by secret ballot and elected him a member of the Central Committee Bureau.

With this the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum concluded its work.

'Front' Duma Concurs With Leaders

WA18000134 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Oct 88 p 4

["Statement by the Duma of the Popular Front of Latvia"]

[Text] In evaluating the republic's political situation, the Duma of the NFL [Popular Front of Latvia] considers it necessary to report that the statements and first steps of the newly elected republic leaders have met with positive response in the broad strata of Latvian society. The NFL Duma notes with satisfaction that there are no fundamental disagreements between these statements and the NFL program. Moreover, a constructive dialogue between the republic leadership and the NFL has been outlined.

However, recently forces have been activated which are alarming and do not comply with the process of democratization which is taking place in the republic and the acceleration of glasnost. They are trying to upset this process, to destabilize the political situation in the LaSSR, to aggravate international relations and to discredit the republic's newly elected leadership. These forces are trying to split the Latvian Communist Party and Latvian society on an ethnic basis, as well as to sow a feeling of fear and uncertainty within the different ethnic groups. This obstructs the course of restructuring.

Speculative rumors are spreading in the republic, as well as beyond its borders, about the NFL's program, statutes and activity. Individual responsible leaders in party organizations and workers' collectives are trying to discredit the NFL and its members.

The NFL Duma emphasizes that it does not exclude the possibility of the pronouncement of even contradictory views in the most diverse discussions. However, it appeals to each who speaks before society to realize the entire extent of responsibility not only for the content of his speech, but also for its political consequences. Therefore, the Duma decisively dissociates itself from any reports, speeches and slogans whatsoever which contradict the NFL's program and statutes. Not everything expressed by NFL participants, be it of a discussion nature or unordinary thoughts, regardless of whether they were heard at NFL meetings, published in the press or broadcast on radio or television, should be considered the viewpoint of the NFL.

The NFL Duma acts in favor of consolidating all progressive forces in the republic which promote the restructuring and democratization of the political system and which are based on the truly revolutionary resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference.

The Duma of the Popular Front of Latvia categorically opposes any recidivists of Stalinism (neo-Stalinism), fascism (neofascism) and imperial ambitions and opposes the sparking of ethnic dissension in the Latvian SSR.

Latvian Popular Front Charter Published

WA18000133 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 Oct 88 pp 1, 3

[Charter of the Latvian Popular Front]

[Text]

General Provisions

1. The Latvian Popular Front (NFL), a mass sociopolitical organization of the republic, born out of the people's patriotic activity, is vigorously supporting and taking an active part in the radical restructuring of our society in accordance with the principles laid down in the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

2. The NFL operates within the framework of the LaSSR Constitution and LaSSR laws in accordance with the NFL Program and the NFL Charter.

3. The NFL operates democratically and constitutionally, using recognized methods, in full conformity with the principle of glasnost. The NFL categorically repudiates all discrimination and the preaching of hatred and violence.

4. The NFL considers the objective of its activity to create authentic popular sovereignty and a democratic state based on law, a flourishing of Latvia's economy and culture, and the settlement of nationality problems.

5. The NFL's principal tasks are to achieve the following:

- broad democratization and de-Stalinization of the republic's governmental and public life, and the strengthening and development of glasnost;
- authentic sovereignty of the republic;
- developing and guaranteeing human rights and civil rights;
- a moral renewal of society;
- preservation and augmentation of the cultural resources of Latvia and the cultures of the nationalities living in the republic;
- the well-being of the people, satisfaction of its material and nonmaterial needs;
- the political and economic independence of Latvia and fair distribution of its gross product;
- social justice in all the spheres of life;
- fundamental restoration of the quality of the environment;
- speedy termination of immigration from other republics and normalization of the demographic situation;
- businesslike cooperation on an equal footing among all the nationalities living in the republic and guaranteed preservation and development of the indigenous nationality.

Principal Forms of Activity

6. The Latvian Popular Front pursues its goals and performs its tasks in various forms, specifically:

- it takes part in the processes of restructuring, in organizing and carrying out economic and cultural measures and initiatives, organizing their support by the masses;
- it summarizes, drafts, and submits to government bodies proposals arising out of the NFL Program;
- it submits to local soviets of people's deputies draft decisions on various issues of local importance;
- it discusses the published draft versions of laws and other normative acts and expresses its opinion on them;
- through the proceedings of legislative initiative it submits to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet proposals for adoption of new legislation and also for repeal or amendment of existing legislation;
- on an equal footing with other public and political organizations, it takes part in the election campaign for all soviets, it nominates candidates for deputy, opposing any restriction of representation and any prior distribution of representation among these organizations;
- it takes part in discussion and evaluation of the platforms of candidates for deputy, it drafts instructions to be given to deputies, and it delegates its own representatives to election commissions;
- it provides support to people's deputies in every way, informing them of the opinion of the NFL and submitting to them the conclusions of experts on issues under discussion in soviets, and it organizes meetings and other types of communication between deputies and their constituents;
- it takes part in the election of managers of enterprises and institutions, workers' councils and other elective bodies, nominating its own candidates;
- it raises the issue of recalling deputies or other elected persons who have not justified the confidence of their constituents;
- it organizes assemblies (discussions, debates, and meetings), it organizes demonstrations, rallies, picketing, and other public measures, and it celebrates memorable dates and holidays of the nationalities;
- it actively supports initiatives of individual groups and branches;
- it advances proposals that the most important issues be put up for discussion of the people or to a referendum;
- it organizes surveys of the people and it studies public opinion;
- it organizes exchange of opinions, debates, colloquiums, and conferences on issues of interest to broad strata of the community, and it creates expert commissions;
- it organizes lectures and informal talks.

7. The NFL collaborates closely with soviets of people's deputies as well as with other government institutions and public organizations in dealing with matters envisaged by the NFL Program and Charter.

The Latvian Popular Front is not subordinate to other organizations and institutions. The Communist Party and other public organizations collaborate with the NFL mainly through their members which are participants in the NFL and serve as intermediaries.

8. In performing the tasks outlined by the program and charter, the NFL collaborates with public associations and carries out joint actions and other measures.

9. The NFL promotes in every way the work of people's control, helping to make it more effective and, if necessary, taking part in its measures as well.

10. The NFL regularly submits to the press and other news media articles and reports on its activity, on cases of bureaucracy, arbitrariness, lawlessness, and mismanagement it has ascertained, and it works for their correction.

11. The NFL prepares for the press and publishes information material and other publications on questions concerning the organization and activity of the NFL.

12. The NFL publishes its own newspaper. The NFL Congress elects its editor and editorial collegium. They are accountable only to the NFL Congress.

13. The NFL collaborates with other organizations and movements with similar objectives and tasks in the other republics and regions of the USSR and also abroad.

Participants in the NFL

14. Any citizen of Latvian SSR who has reached age 18 may become a participant in the Latvian Popular Front regardless of nationality, social position, religious convictions, membership in other organizations, and so on, if he recognizes the NFL Program and Charter and through his activity furthers accomplishment of the objectives and performance of the tasks of the NFL. Young people under age 16 may take part in the measures of the NFL without the right to vote on decisions. Persons who recognize the objectives and tasks of the NFL, but who for various reasons have not become participants in the NFL, may support its effort as supporters. They may collaborate with groups of NFL participants and also create their own support groups.

15. Citizens wishing to become NFL participants join together and enroll in NFL groups. Enrollment in the NFL takes place by a simple majority vote.

16. By their personal behavior and effort NFL participants demonstrate their allegiance to the objectives, tasks, and basic principles of the NFL's activity.

NFL participants may act on behalf of groups and branches with their consent.

17. The NFL participant has the following rights:

- to take part in all measures conducted by the NFL, to express his views, to advance proposals, and to discuss issues which have been raised. Participation in measures is voluntary;
- to organize measures in keeping with the NFL Program and Charter;
- to take part in elections, to promote his own or another nomination and to be elected to bodies of the NFL;
- to contact the governing bodies of the NFL directly;
- to give notice on an individual basis of the meeting of a group to discuss a question, regardless of the question;
- to submit articles for publication in publications of the NFL.

The NFL resolutely condemns and commits to glasnost any attempt to persecute people for participation and activity in the NFL in keeping with the NFL Program and Charter.

18. The NFL participant fills out a standard registration card and once a quarter pays voluntary dues in the amount of at least 1 ruble. Half of the sum collected remains at the disposition of the groups and branches; the other half is sent to the NFL Board. The distribution of funds between the groups and branches is determined by the branch conference. NFL supporters do not pay dues, but they support the NFL with voluntary donations.

19. The NFL participant has the right to freely withdraw from the NFL by so informing the group representative.

20. The NFL participant may be expelled from the NFL by decision of the respective group, if he has flagrantly violated the Charter or done discredit to the name of NFL participant. The decision to that effect may be appealed to the higher level of the NFL. A member of the assembly may be expelled only by decision of the assembly.

Organizational Structure

21. NFL participants who work at the same place, who live in the same locality or who have other connections with one another unite to form groups. The group must number at least three persons.

The group elects a representative, his deputy, and also—at the discretion of the group—bodies of self-management. The group representative and bodies of self-management organize the group's work, dispose of its money funds, which are spent in keeping with the decisions of the group. The representative and the bodies of self-management report on their activity to the group and at its discretion may be subject to a new election before the end of their term of office. Newly organized groups must be registered with the NFL Board, which verifies their conformity with the NFL Program and Charter. Groups may coordinate or combine their activity in pursuit of particular objectives.

If a group as a whole does not abide by the program and charter, then by decision of the assembly the group may be expelled from the NFL.

22. In rayons, cities, and also large enterprises and institutions where there are more than 200 participants, the NFL branch may create a conference of group representatives and other delegated participants. The conference elects a branch representative, an audit commission, and, if necessary, bodies of self-management, it approves the branch's budget, and it defines the powers of the branch representative and bodies of self-management.

23. Public associations all of whose participants recognize the NFL Program and Charter may be enrolled in the NFL with the status of a group or branch.

24. The NFL Congress is the supreme decision-making body of the NFL. It meets once a year. An extraordinary congress may be convened if demanded by at least one-third of the members of the assembly or at least one-third of the branches of the NFL.

25. The NFL Congress:

- makes the decision on creation and liquidation of the NFL;
- adopts the NFL Program and Charter and amends them;
- discusses and decides the most important issues in the activity of the NFL;
- approves the main lines of future activity of the NFL;
- elects to a 1-year term the assembly, the audit commission, and the NFL chairman;
- hears reports and issues an evaluation of the activity of the chairman, the assembly, and the audit commission of the NFL;
- approves the NFL budget;
- elects the editor and editorial collegium.

The congress makes decisions by a two-thirds majority of the votes of those delegates present at the congress.

26. The NFL Assembly works in intervals between congresses and takes up and decides matters in the activity of the NFL other than those placed in the power of the congress.

The NFL Assembly:

- convenes congresses of the NFL and defines the procedure for representation at those congresses;
- elects the board and also committees of the NFL for the principal aspects of activity and approves the committee chairmen and responsible secretary;
- on behalf of the NFL submits legislative bills to the Supreme Soviet and also submits proposals to other government institutions;
- makes declarations on current issues in public life;
- approves directions in the economic life and staff of the NFL;
- approves persons who have the right to sign money documents and contracts.

The assembly is convened on its own initiative, and it may also be convened by the NFL Board or chairman.

The assembly has the right to make decisions if at least two-thirds of its members are taking part in its proceedings. Decisions are made by a simple majority of the votes of all the members of the assembly.

27. The board is the continuously active body of the NFL. It:

- convenes meetings of the NFL Assembly, if necessary, and prepares issues for discussion jointly with the committees;
- organizes execution of decisions of the NFL Congress and Assembly;
- continuously coordinates the activity of the NFL;
- creates working groups and expert commissions, enlisting appropriate specialists;
- disperses the resources of the NFL within the limits of the budget and in reports to the assembly in accordance with its decisions.

Sessions of the board may make decisions if at least two-thirds of its members are taking part. Decisions are made by a simple majority of the votes of the total number of board members.

The board does not have a permanent chairman; it is headed by the board members in turn. Decisions made by the board are signed by the chairman of the meeting. Chairmen of committees created by the assembly take part in meetings of the board, where they have the right to cast an advisory vote.

28. The NFL chairman, who does not carry special authority, represents the NFL in government bodies and institutions and also in public organizations. In them, he sets forth the opinion of the NFL based on decisions of

the congress or assembly. The chairman has the right to convene a meeting of the assembly and board and to take part in them. He signs decisions adopted by the congress and assembly.

One and the same person may be elected NFL chairman to no more than two terms in succession.

29. The committees of the NFL Assembly created to work out the basic lines of activity of the NFL consist of members of the assembly and also of other NFL participants. In its work, the committee may enlist specialists and public figures, who have the right to cast an advisory vote.

The committees of the assembly:

- jointly with the board summarize and draft proposals and draft decisions for meetings of the assembly and NFL Congress;
- draft work programs;
- prepare draft versions of laws and other normative acts to be submitted to governmental and public bodies;
- discuss other current issues of interest to the community and express their opinion on them;
- draft other recommendations to the assembly and board.

30. Elections at all levels of the NFL are conducted by secret ballot. Election is by simple majority of votes cast.

Property, Finance, and Staff of the NFL

31. The NFL has its own property and financial resources, which it keeps in bank accounts. These resources are as follows:

- the money dues of participants;
- the voluntary donations of organizations and private individuals, with or without a qualification as to their use;
- income from the sale of paraphernalia, publications, and the productive activity of the NFL and other measures.

32. The resources of the NFL are spent in accordance with the budget to carry on economic, organizational, and other activity.

33. The chairman, assembly, board, and members of the audit commission of the NFL perform their duties mainly on a voluntary basis. The NFL reimburses their actual expenses related to performance of those duties; in exceptional cases, the assembly may assign them a wage.

34. The NFL has its own staff personnel hired to perform organizational and technical duties.

35. The NFL Audit Commission monitors the financial activity of the board of the assembly, the audit commission of the branch monitors the financial activity of the NFL branch, and the financial activity of the group is monitored by the general assembly of the group or the audit commission it has elected.

Legal Status and Paraphernalia of the NFL

36. The Latvian Popular Front and its branches have the status of a juridical person.

37. The NFL has its own paraphernalia, approved by the congress. NFL paraphernalia may be manufactured exclusively with consent of the board.

38. The board of the assembly and branches of the NFL have their own stamp, bearing their own name.

Resolutions of the NFL Congress

Resolution No 1. On Establishment of the Latvian Popular Front

The congress for establishment of the Latvian Popular Front recognizes that the Latvian Popular Front has come into being as a movement of the political and patriotic initiative of the people. At the present time, support groups of the Popular Front number more than 110,000 participants. Support groups have sprung up in all rayons and in many cities of the republic. The NFL deems that the process of self-organization of the Popular Front has been completed. The congress accordingly proclaims establishment of the Popular Front as a mass sociopolitical organization of Latvia.

Resolution No 2. On the Latvian Popular Front and the News Media

The Popular Front takes the position that in the context of democracy and socialist pluralism any mass organization has the right to freely express its views with the help of the news media.

In view of the important role of the NFL in political life and in consolidation of the forces of restructuring in Latvia, the NFL deems it indispensable to publish a mass sociopolitical newspaper—a periodical of the Popular Front.

The Latvian Popular Front calls upon all editorial offices of newspapers, journals, radio, and television to reflect the ideas and activity of the Popular Front.

The Latvian Popular Front recommends to all republic publishing houses that they publish works which reflect the process of the awakening of the people.

Resolution No 3. On Support of the Course of the CPSU Central Committee Toward Renewal

The Congress of the Latvian Popular Front believes that the realization of the goals and performance of the tasks of the Latvian Popular Front depend upon how fully and consistently restructuring is carried out. It therefore appeals to all NFL branches, groups, and participants to resolutely and consistently support the course of renewal proclaimed by the CPSU Central Committee—in their own work collectives and public organization, in every city and rayon, throughout Latvia.

In the present report-and-election period for party organizations, the NFL deems it of the greatest importance to unify the efforts of party members to achieve an atmosphere of renewal and democratization, to see that honest and principled Communists, truly concerned about Latvia's future, are elected to all leadership bodies of the Communist Party, and to help party bodies to free themselves of covert and overt opponents of restructuring.

Resolution No 4. On Economic Sovereignty and the Development of Agriculture

In the definitive development of the model of Latvia's socioeconomic development, reliance will be placed on the basic principles of republic cost accounting (khozyaystvennyy raschet), reconciled and entered in the minutes of the conference held 21-23 September 1988 and signed by the gosplan chairmen of LiSSR, LaSSR, and ESSR, and by scientists and specialists.

In accordance with a one-time legislative act, as of 1 January 1990 to accomplish the transition of the republic to full cost accounting.

To support in every way the priority of agriculture and development of sectors of the economy related to it (the manufacturing industry, the production of building materials, construction of buildings and on-farm roads, production of agricultural machines so as to take into account regional conditions, construction of housing and recreational facilities).

To promote the development of peasant farms (khutors), creating favorable economic and legal prerequisites for this. To assign land to khutor farmers for use for an indefinite period, including the right of inheritance, exempt from tax for the first 5 years of farming activity.

Resolution No 5. On Environmental Protection in Latvia

The NFL demands that measures be taken without delay to protect the environment. In this connection, by 1 April 1989 to transfer to the jurisdiction of the LaSSR State Committee for Environmental Protection all government services monitoring protection of the environment. The NFL proposes creating public services for conservation of natural resources and the cultural environment and believes that all activity to explore and use natural resources must be conducted exclusively with permission of soviets of people's deputies. International commissions of experts need to be created for exploration and evaluation of the most important problems in natural resource conservation.

Resolution No 6. On Social Justice

The Congress of the Latvian Popular Front demands that all social privileges determined by official position be immediately abolished and that special hospitals, special polyclinics, special stores, and special recreational facilities be liquidated. Benefits in the enjoyment of social consumption funds can be considered just only within the limits of the system of social security, and they must be subject to public scrutiny.

The congress calls for all inhabitants of Latvia to be assured the socially necessary subsistence and for this requirement to be observed in the planning and implementation of reforms of prices, wages, and pensions.

The NFL Congress calls upon the republic government to act without delay in accomplishing a major improvement of the food supply to Latvia's rural population and also the population of cities under republic and rayon jurisdiction. The congress calls upoN all NFL branches and groups to help in public scrutiny as to the fair distribution of food, consumer goods, and other social benefits.

The NFL Congress is combating discrimination against various strata of the population with respect to the furnishing of information about facts of history and contemporary events. The situation must be brought about in which all inhabitants of Latvia have an opportunity to examine documents concerning the most important events in the history of our people.

The NFL Congress condemns the misinformation in treatment of the issues of the interethnic relations put forth by certain periodicals in the Russian language, in particular the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, and it demands that its editor be discharged from his position.

The NFL Congress calls for a fight to be waged against revivals of the caste psychology and ethics in the republic.

Resolution No 7. On Repeal of Ukases Restricting Civil Rights

On 28 July 1988, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the ukases "On Organizing and the Procedure for Conducting Assemblies, Rallies, Parades, and Demonstrations in the USSR," "On Rights and Duties of Internal Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Protecting Public Order," and "On

Certain Amendments to Legislative Acts of the USSR." These ukases contain norms which restrict the basic rights and freedoms of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution. They provide the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs with the basis for ignoring republic and local government and administrative authorities and agencies, for using internal forces to cut off and blockade certain rayons and localities, for entering apartments of private individuals and for taking other coercive measures against them. These legislative acts were adopted without the public discussion envisaged by the USSR law adopted 30 June 1987 and entitled "On Popular Discussion of Important Issues in Governmental Life."

The NFL Congress appeals to all deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet to work for repeal of those ukases and adoption of new democratic legislative acts in this area.

In 1988, the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet adopted the "Regulation on Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Parades, and Demonstrations" and adopted the ukase entitled "On Responsibility for Violating Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Meetings, Rallies, Parades, and Demonstrations." These legislative acts were adopted without discussion by the entire people provided for in the law entitled "On Popular Discussion of Important Issues in Government Life," adopted 15 April 1988.

The NFL Congress demands that the deputies in the Supreme Soviet repeal all these ukases and draft new democratic pieces of legislation in this area.

The NFL Congress calls upon the Latvian CP Central Committee and its secretaries to support the just demands of the people.

Resolution No 8. On Termination of Immigration

The NFL believes that unlimited immigration, which has now resulted in the arrival of enormous numbers of people in Latvia, is destroying the ecological, demographic, and social structure of the republic, is detracting from the level of prosperity and culture, and is threatening the right of the Lettish people to self-determination and to national statehood.

The NFL Congress demands that all the bodies of government authority and administration take urgent and major steps to immediately terminate immigration. The NFL calls upon all soviets of people's deputies to take an irreconcilable position concerning the recruitment of manpower in other republics.

The NFL Congress demands that enrollment in the republic's higher educational institutions be confined exclusively to residents of Latvian SSR. Residents of other republics may attend educational institutions of Latvia only on the basis of contracts in which specialists are required to return to their own respective republics after completing their studies.

The NFL Congress calls upon the LaSSR Ministry of Public Education to review the nomenclature list for training specialists and workers and altogether eliminate the need to enlist specialists from outside.

The NFL demands a ban on importation of convicted persons from other republics into Latvian SSR to serve their sentence.

The NFL Congress demands immediate repeal of all legal acts granting priority for moving to Latvia to persons who have not previously lived here.

The NFL Congress demands full glasnost in treatment of the demographic situation in the republic and exhaustive information on this matter.

The NFL Congress calls upon all NFL branches, groups, and participants to engage in public scrutiny of the termination of immigration, to publicize all cases that are counter to this resolution and to organize actions to correct them.

Resolution No 9. On the Events in 1959

The NFL believes that the decrees of the Latvian CP Central Committee in 1959 and the activity of the republic's leadership that followed them brought about a crisis in Latvia's economy and culture. The NFL demands immediate publication of the decrees and minutes of the July (1959) Plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee, demands that they be declared politically incorrect and harmful, and it calls for a study of the consequences of the 1959 decree concerning the further development of Latvia, and it demands that the public be extensively informed on this matter. The NFL deems it necessary that material be published on the role of A. Pelshe and A. Voss in these events. The NFL Congress demands that the name of A. Pelshe be removed from the Riga Polytechnical Institute.

Resolution No 10. On De-Stalinization

The NFL demands immediate repeal of the decree of the LaSSR Council of Ministers on the deportations in 1941 and 1949 and declaration of the actions taken under them to have been crimes against humanity. The NFL Congress calls upon the LaSSR Supreme Soviet to create a commission that would include representatives of the NFL and other public organizations and immediately take up all the cases of victims of unlawful repression, including representatives of the NFL and other public organizations on that commission.

The NFL deems it necessary to determine from documents the number of victims of the Stalinist terror in the forties and fifties who were residents of LaSSR regardless of their nationality and the number of USSR citizens of Lettish nationality who were such victims in the thirties, and to institute a card file and Book Commemorating the Victims of Stalinism.

That a competition be held no later than by 1 January 1989 among proposals for the Memorial to the Victims of Stalinism.

Resolution No 11. On Riga Time in Latvia

The NFL demands that a time zone be established in Latvia that corresponds to the republic's geographic situation and would safeguard the rhythm in the activity of life that coincides with the biological cycles of the human organism.

Resolution No 12. On Ethnic Relations

The NFL is aware that failure to understand the character of real processes taking place in the republic and deliberate misinformation can aggravate ethnic relations. The NFL categorically condemns attempts to explain the processes taking place in the republic using dogmas of the Stalinist theoretical legacy. The NFL considers democratization of ethnic relations, protection of the vital interests of every nationality living in LaSSR, its language, culture, and traditions, to be exceedingly important prerequisites along the road to a state based on law. To that end, the NFL proposes creating in the republic a Forum of All Nationalities of Latvia.

The NFL considers it its duty to demand that schools be opened to teach the Latgal and Liv languages, and it considers it its duty to support the cultural aspirations of all the ethnic minorities living in Latvian SSR.

Resolution No 13. On the Accountability of Representatives of the People

The NFL Congress believes that one of the prerequisites for carrying out the political reform and the authentic popular sovereignty proclaimed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference is that people representing citizens of Latvia and empowered to act in the name of the people of Latvia or of a portion of that people truly enjoy their confidence.

Exercising its right to initiate the recall of individual deputies who have not justified the confidence of the people, the NFL initiates recall of A.E. Voss, deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Resolution No 14. On Democratization of Religious Life in Latvia

The NFL Congress deems it necessary to recognize that an important component of the process of democratization is to guarantee freedom of conscience.

The NFL considers the present legislative acts on religious associations unsatisfactory and calls for them to be immediately revised in the spirit of the renewal of society and that representatives of religious organizations take part in that revision.

The NFL demands that a LaSSR Council for Religious Affairs be created in which representatives of religious organizations would collaborate as members.

The NFL considers it indispensable that the church in Latvia be guaranteed the same rights possessed by public organizations.

Resolution No 15. On the Autonomy of Higher Educational Institutions

In the restructuring to overcome the economic backwardness of our country, which is supported by the NFL, an important role is to be played by the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

The NFL Congress demands autonomy beginning in the 1989/90 academic year for the Latvian State University, the Riga Polytechnical Institute, the Latvian Agricultural Academy, and the Riga Medical Institute, that the curricula for groups with instruction in the Russian language include the Lettish language as a required subject and that a state examination be instituted in that subject.

The NFL Congress calls upon deputies of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet to achieve repeal of the draft of students of VUZ's into the Soviet Army beginning in 1989.

Resolution No 16. On Glasnost Concerning the Proceedings of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet

The NFL supports the proposal of the chairman of the Presidium of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet concerning glasnost as to the activity of the Supreme Soviet and demands that radio and television broadcasts be made live from the hall in which meetings of the Supreme Soviet are held.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Deputies Interviewed

LD1611140188 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Report by unidentified correspondent on Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] [Correspondent] Changes which are now taking place in our repubic in all walks of life are reflected in the work of the current session. I recall my conversation with deputies at one of the sessions 5 years ago. To my question why the deputies were so indifferent to the issues being discussed, I received the following answer: What is the point of being concerned? Everything has already been resolved at the top.

I did not see any indifferent faces today in the auditorium. Today's deputies are completely different. They are not affaird of criticizing the higher echelons of power and of speaking frankly about shortcomings and sour points.

Aleksey Myakota, a deputy from Poltava Oblast, is a bit more critical.

[Begin Myakota recording in Ukrainian fading into Engish translation] On the whole I am satisfied with the approach to the problems. We must finally solve the food problem. In order to fulfill this program, we need less talking and declarations.

As for the republic's budget for next year, although I voted for it, I feel that we have not increased allocations for development of the village, but on the contrary have enlarged allocations for the agro-industrial complex in comparison with last year. I feel that with such steps we will not solve the village development program. Thus, I am not entirely satisfied with the session's work. [end recording]

[Correspondent] A very wide range of the most urgent problems of our life was considered at the session, including those dealing with spiritual life, namely preservation of folk traditions and development of our need of Ukrainian language. At the microphone is Volodymyr Pikhota from Lvov, member of the Ukranian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for patriotic and international education and internationality relations:

[Pikhota in Ukrainian fading into English translation] A number of appeals have been submitted to our commission from the peoples of various regions of the republic with the request to consider making Ukrainian the official language of the republic.

I must say that the sitting was held in a democratic and lively atmosphere. Its participants considered the requests in every detail and decided to appeal to the Ukranian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to consider the question of introducing ammendments to the Ukrainian Constitution and to change legislation on this issue.

But it is not only the law that matters. The fact that traditions of Ukrainian culture will be restored and enriched is also important.

[Correspondent] The deputies heard a report by Petro Osipenko, the republic's procurator, about the state of affairs in protecting the interests of the state and citizens and consolidating law and order in the republic. In particular, he said:

[Begin Osipenko recording in Ukrainian fading into English translation] The fact that the information about the state of affairs in the field of protecting the interests of the state and citizens and consolidating law and order in the republic were proposed for the session to consider vividly testifies that the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine attaches (?great significance) to this issue.

The need to radically consolidate law and order under conditions of the formation of a socialist legal state, the expansion of democracy and glasnost, guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the citizens, raising the authority of the law—all this was envisaged by the 19th all-union party conference. In the republic, as throughout the Soviet Union, many measures were taken concerning legal, organizational, and educational aspects throughout perestroyka in the fields of economy and social life. Today we have every reason to say that law and order have been consolidated. [end recording]

New Forestry Industry Minister Appointed in Kiev

AU1611151988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 1

["A Decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves to appoint Comrade Vasiliy Fedorovich Kostenko as Ukrainian SSR minister of forestry industry.

[Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman, and N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

City of Kiev, 9 November 1988.

Born in 1936, V.F. Kostenko is a Ukrainian and has been a CPSU member since 1962. He graduated from the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, and is a mechanic engineer.

As of 1958 he worked as a foreman, as a shop chief, chief of the production and technical section, as director of the Zhitomir furniture combine, and as general director of the "Zhitomirdrev" production association. Since 1985 he has been Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of the timber and wood processing industry. He holds the Orders of Lenin, of the Labor Red Banner, and of the "Labor Badge," two medals, and an honorary certificate of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Pentecostal Temple Opens in Ukraine

LD1711095988 Moscow TASS in English 1844 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Kiev November 16 TASS—Yakov Kobylinsky, presbyter of the Pentecostals community in Zaporozhye (Ukraine), and community members and brethren who arrived from other cities of the Ukraine, conducted a festive prayer at the consecration of a temple, the first in this city on the Dnieper.

"Only yesterday we huddled at a one-storey building which was a dwelling house in the past," Yakov Kobylinsky told TASS. "Now we received a good prayer house. This is a direct result of processes of renovation in the Soviet Union and a change in the attitude to religion."

The Pentecostals are a late and numerically small branch of Protestantism. The community in Zaporozhye numbers some 300 members. It is, as is the case with other associations of Pentecostals in the USSR, fully autonomous.

The building of the prayer house of Pentecostals in Zaporozhye is an ascetic-looking and, at the same time, impressive in its architecture structure built according to a special design. It has two halls with good acoustics. Apart from Pentecostals, many residents of the city came to the house opening ceremony. They were seated at the main hall by members of the community during the festivities.

The house in Zaporozhye is not the first one in the Ukraine. Similar houses had been opened in Korosten, Novograd-Volynskiy and Sukhodolskiy. Construction is in progress in Rovno and Lutsk.

Victims of 'Unjustified Repressions' Commemorated

'Week of Conscience' Planned

LD1611095188 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Rubenov

The Moscow weekly "OGONYOK" proposed that a campaign in commemoration of victims of unjustified repressions of the 30's-early 50's be held. The weekly achieved great popularity over the recent years because of its acute publications on social and legal problems and its striving to remove "blank spots" in the country's history.

The week of conscience, which is how writer Vitaliy Korotich, editor-in-chief of the weekly "OGONYOK", described the coming campaign at a news conference today, will be held from November 19 to November 26 in a workers' club of Moscow. Materials about the victims of repressions—photographs, newspaper and magazine cuttings, letters from relatives and friends, reminiscences, archive documents—will be presented to broad public.

An information centre will be working at the club throughout the week. Dmitriy Yurasov, a 24-year-old student of the Moscow Institute for Historian-Archivists, will continue his work to collect materials about people subjected to repressions. His files contain 130,300 names of those who were repressed in the years of the personality cult.

Functions in tribute to the memory of those who were unjustifiably repressed will be held simultaneously with the exhibition. Prominent Soviet workers in arts, writers, scientists, the military, diplomats, will take part in these functions. The proceeds will be remitted to the fund of the memorial to victims of Stalinism. The idea to create such a memorial in Moscow was endorsed by the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU held last summer.

The programme of the week of conscience includes an exhibition of projects and proposals for the construction of a memorial complex. "The memorial will be the manifestation of the grief of the people for millions of their compatriots, unjustifiably repressed, and will mean their political rehabilitation," Vitaliy Korotich said. "At the same time, it will be an effective factor of the democratisation of public and state life, will enhance confidence of other countries in the initiatives of the Soviet state aimed at the creation of a non-violent world".

Feature films and documentaries about the tragic pages of history will be shown during the week of conscience.

Letter Solicits Help for Memorial

PM1011163188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 2

[Yevgeniy Yevtushenko letter carried as part of "Pulse-88" feature: "Help 'Memorial'"—first five paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] What happened over the 2 days of 29-30 October in Moscow's Central House of Cinematography Workers was in itself yet another incontrovertible proof of the changes—in deed and not just in words—that are now under way in the country's social life. We recall—and it seems only a short while ago—how signatures were collected in streets and squares in support of the idea of creating a memorial perpetuating the memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions.

The movement to erect a monument gained support at the 19th party conference. Account No 700454 was opened, and it immediately started receiving voluntary donations from citizens, institutions, and organizations.

The "Memorial" Public Council was formed, and Academician A. Sakharov was elected its honorary chairman. The action group was joined by the Public Council and the founder members of the new All-Union Voluntary Historical Education Society—the creative unions of cinematography workers, architects, theater workers, artists, and designers, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and OGONEK—and they embarked on the implementation of this noble idea. Meanwhile preparatory work was being done to organize a competition for the concept and plan of the future memorial complex, and also to collect documents and memoirs. And now a meeting has been held to prepare for the constituent conference of the "Memorial" Society.

What should "Memorial" be like? What sort of memorial complex should be erected? How to provide swifter and more effective assistance to former prisoners and their relatives, who need it so urgently? These and many

other questions were discussed at the meeting. Its participants took a firm stance against attempts by some individuals connected with the notorious "Democratic Union" to take advantage of the sacred cause of "Memorial" in pursuit of their own unseemly goals.

It was decided to convene the constituent conference of the "Memorial" All-Union Voluntary Historical Education Society in Moscow 17-18 December. It will finally determine the future public organization's tasks and forms of work.

Almost every family in our country had at least one of its members killed or wounded during the war against the fascists. Almost every family in our country had at least one of its members killed, arrested, exiled, or wounded through all sorts of humiliations during the war waged against our own people by those who spoke in the name of the people.

And even if there are some families unaffected by either of these two wars, surely our multinational people are a united family, and surely our memory should mourn our shared family losses? To mourn the victims of just one of these accursed wars would be as criminally unnatural as it would be to allow compassion to be felt by just one-half of one's heart while forcibly clamping the artery feeding the other half.

Our people's war against the fascists lasted 4 years and, according to official data, we lost 20 million lives, the unofficial figure being even higher.

The war waged against the people by those who spoke in the name of the people lasted for decades, and nobody has yet accurately calculated how many millions of lives we lost.

There is a theory that the repressions were supposedly a harsh necessity and that otherwise we would not have withstood the clash with fascism. But this theory is based either on historical ignorance or on historical cynicism. How can anyone perceive the prewar destruction of the people as preparation to protect the people from destruction?

Here are figures from Lieutenant General Todorskiy about the bloodletting among Red Army command cadres before the war: The repressions accounted for 3 out of 5 marshals, 3 out of 5 army commanders first rank, all 10 army commanders second rank, 50 out of 57 corps commanders, 154 out of 186 division commanders, all 16 army commissars first and second rank, 25 out of 28 corps commissars, 58 out of 64 division commissars, and 401 out of 456 colonels.

There were also lieutenants and privates who were interned first in Hitler's concentration camps, and then in Stalin's. Even when they escaped from Hitler's concentration camps and fought against fascism with the Italian or French partisans, this did not prevent them from being classed as "traitors." We are awkwardly and haltingly learning the basic truths of historical memory, leaving bleeding open wounds where we have torn off the brain-constraining camelskin belts of mankurty [allusion to people in Aytmatov novel who are deprived of their memory by invaders who tie belts around their heads].

We are beginning to honor the memory of outstanding revolutionaries, military leaders, scientists, and writers who perished in prison cellars or behind barbed wire. Names that were famous in the past and were only whispered for so many years, can again be heard aloud. But the people's conscience and the people's talent are not the exclusive privilege of the famous. It is our duty to honor the memory of the dead innocent grain growers, workers, engineers, physicians, teachers, and people of all professions, nationalities, and religions, each of whom represents a fragment of the assassinated people's conscience and people's talent.

In all corners of the country there are flickering eternal flames which were lit in memory of those who died in the war against fascism.

In all corners of the country, by the people's will, there must be memorials commemorating the victims of repressions, like eternal flames cast in stone. Halfhearted remembrance leads to halfhearted conscience.

There can be no restructuring without the restructuring of memory.

Therefore help "Memorial"!

To this day, children on the banks of Kolyma River sometimes carry berries inside human skulls they have found, and smile in their innocent ignorance.

How are we now to decipher the code signs "B-13," "V-41," and "Ya-178" on the nameless rickety pegs and small boards in the tayga? How are we to make out the sign written in indelible pencil on some plywood tag tied to an emaciated bare foot when the tundra's permafrost yields one more of its terrible secrets in springtime?

Belorussian peasants in Kuropaty look in terror at the ditch filled with human skeletons as witnesses for the prosecution in the trial of history.

Muscovites shudder on learning that the Kalitnikovskoye Cemetery in the very heart of Moscow has its own terrible secret ditch, Moscow's Babiy Yar, where naked bodies were brought in carts in the middle of the night during the thirties, with rags stopping the two bullet holes in their heads.

Our moral law—"Nobody has been forgotten and nothing has been forgotten"—must apply to both of these terrible wars, the Great Patriotic War and the war against our own people.

The memory we possess today accommodates neither the tears, nor the blood, nor the hopes. Not being armed with the knowledge of history, we may find ourselves disarmed when we face up to history.

History cannot be escaped by means of monuments, not even the most beautiful ones. The best monument is memory. We take the term "Memorial" to include the air of historical memory around the monuments themselves. The memorials are conceived by us not only as architectural complexes but also as spiritual complexes, as libraries of facts and tribunes of public thought.

The "Memorial" Society must become the organizer of the restructuring of memory, a cause of the whole people, a universal cause. The recreation of the people's memory is impossible without the people's help.

Therefore help "Memorial"!

The rusty barbed wire of the former camps, lying in wait in the brushwood, is a viper than can still cause a deadly bite. The poison contained in the barbs of the camp wire has contaminated those who perceive the path into the future as leading not through democracy but through forcible subordination, not through pluralism but through conveyer-belt uniformity. This camp wire entangled so many talented sons and daughters of all nationalities in our motherland—peasants, proletarians, members of the intelligentsia, party members, nonparty people, clerics, and simple believers. Who knows, had they remained alive maybe democracy and glasnost would have developed naturally as far back as the twenties, and then there would not have been so many crimes, the war against fascism would have been won much earlier—and maybe the fascists would not have been able to capture power by reference to worldwide "Red terror," and the entire political atmosphere in the world could have been different. Our future was stolen for several decades. We must know how this happened so that our future can never again be stolen. The study of the past is the salvation of the future, the guarantee of the future. The task of "Memorial" is to study the past not for the sake of accurate records but for the sake of accuracy in mapping out future prospects, for the sake of ensuring that the tragedy that befell our recent forebears does not recur to befall our immediate or distant offspring.

Therefore help "Memorial"!

Following the tragic years when conscience, justice, and truth were locked behind bars, it is necessary to morally sentence Stalinism to life imprisonment as an anti-people phenomenon. This is not so much a matter of Stalin's actual personality or his close associates, it it a matter of Stalinism. Its result has been paradoxically tragic—the state and man, class interests and universal interests have all suffered through it. An analysis of the trampling of democracy in the past means ensuring the protection of democracy in the future. The memorial in Moscow must be an all-union lecture and research center where the morality of the present is elaborated as the foundation of the future on the basis of verified facts of the past. Research activity must not follow the biased line of bringing only negative facts to light and deliberately sensationalizing the horrors. We must make public not only the crimes and betrayals but also the courage of resistance, the feat of mercy, and the spiritual hygiene of nonparticipation. It was in those terrible years that many great books were written and many remarkable technical ideas were put forward. But at the same time we must not use the talented and honest work of many people in those years to justify the self-genocide that was being simultaneously conducted.

The tasks of the "Memorial" Society lack all vengefulness. We are not advocating the physical persecution of those who were in some way or another involved in Stalinism's bloody crimes. We deem it profoundly immoral to groundlessly accuse people who are still alive or are already dead. But if there is irrefutable evidence of guilt before the trial of history, then let the social punishment take the form of publishing the truth about specific crimes committed by specific people, accomplices in the war waged against our own people. The coverup of the truth about crimes contains a potential danger that they might recur.

The "Memorial" Society must become one of the centers for most active assistance to restructuring, glasnost, new thinking, and democracy.

The "Memorial" Society will strengthen interethnic ties between our country's fraternal peoples, because nothing bonds as firmly as shared suffering.

The "Memorial" Society hopes that it will receive international support because our society's democratization and complete de-Stalinization offer one of the main historical arguments for the sake of nuclear disarmament and mutual trust between peoples.

Therefore help "Memorial"!

The "Memorial" Society gratefully accepts donations for the erection of a memorial complex to the victims of repressions (Account No 700454).

The "Memorial" Society awaits any documentary material and suggestions from you, addressed to: 125319 Moscow, No 2 Chernyakhovskiy Street.

On instructions from the Public Council,

[Signed] Yevg. Yevtushenko

Books on Stalin, Khrushchev Eras Described
PM1411121988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with L. Grekov, deputy chief editor of the Political Literature Publishing House, in Moscow by N. Kishchik: "Knowing and Remembering. We Describe New Books Devoted to Our History"; first paragraph is introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Excerpt] "How Did It Happen? Reflections on the Preconditions and Results of What Happened to Us in the 1930's" ["Chto eto bylo? Razmyshleniya o predposylkakh i itogakh togo, chto sluchilos s nami v 30-ye gody"]—that is the title of a book which is being prepared for printing in the Political Literature Publishing House. Our conversation at the publishing house on the eve of the revolution's 71st anniversary began with this and other new books.

[Kishchik] What other books, in your view, will attract readers' attention?

[Grekov] We have a series to which we attach very great significance, L. Grekov, deputy chief editor, replied. The reader's interest in it is growing constantly. But even that is not the point, but rather it is that the time itself demanded these books. They are anthologies of publications in the press which aroused broad controversy. They concern our history, contemporary problems, and politicians around whose names stormy debates rage. At the beginning of the year the book "Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev—Biographical Materials" ["Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev—materialy o biografii] is coming out—an anthology of pieces by Burlatskiy, Bovin, Medvedev, S. Khrushchev, and Adzhubey recently published in heavyweight journals... The compiler is Yu. Aksyutin. His article "Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. We Must Seek the Truth About the Personality Cult," which has not been published before, is included in the anthology.

Scholars and journalists on the nature of Stalinism is the subject of the anthology entitled "The People's Grim Drama" ["Surovaya drama naroda"]. It includes articles which created a great stir in the press: D. Volkogonov's "Demon of the Revolution" (PRAVDA), Otto Latsis' "Breakthrough" (ZNAMYA), and others. The compiler is Yu. Senokosov.

[Kishchik] Is "How Did It Happen?" also an anthology of published articles?

[Grekov] No. Individual chapters in the book were published in the journal ZNANIYE—SILA. Its authors L. Gordon and E. Klopov are well known scholars, researchers, and specialists in history and sociology. They not only describe how, for example, industrialization proceeded, but they also provide an analysis—what is now called the historic alternative. Why did society take this path? Was there a choice? Did various proposals and options exist? What were they? It is well known that there was a struggle in society. The country followed the Stalinist path. Why? During work on the book the idea emerged for a chapter in which the authors analyze the correlation of the social forces as one of the determining factors in the events which occurred. [Passage omitted]

Raisa Gorbacheva Attends Bolshoy Benefit Concert
PM1611163788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Hurry To Do Good"]

[Text] It is a noble tradition among multiethnic Soviet cultural figures to take people's pain and suffering to heart. Moved by a sense of kindness, generosity, and sincere sympathy, the leading masters of the country's musical art gave a benefit concert in aid of the fund for constructing a medical center for Soviet internationalist soldiers. This took place 14 November in the USSR Bolshoy Theater.

The soiree was organized by the USSR Union of Theater Workers and the Bolshoy Theater. It is natural that performances by this theater's soloists, choir, and orchestra occupied a significant place on the program. Masters of the academy opera and ballet theaters of Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Kiev, Donetsk, Minsk, Kishinev, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Frunze, and Tallinn took part in the concert.

R.M. Gorbacheva; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; and K.Yu. Lavrov, chairman of the USSR Union of Theater Workers Board; attended the concert.

Justice Minister Kravtsov on Legal Reform
PM1711162388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 7

[Report on 11 November interview with USSR Minister of Justice B. Kravtsov conducted by E. Parkhomovskiy under the "Yesterday in IZVESTIYA" rubric: "Minister of Justice 'For'"—place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Our newspaper published yesterday an article by V. Vlasikhin entitled "Cinderella Without the Good Fairy" about the role and significance of lawyers in a law-governed state. The article continued, as it were, the topic initiated by the editorial office in the discussion held between its correspondent and USSR Minister of Justice B. Kravtsov ("Lawyers and Bureaucrats," IZVESTIYA No 240). If the reader recalls, this concerned the intolerable undervaluation of legal service workers at the present stage and attempts to reduce the numbers of lawyers, notaries, and judges instead of

administrative apparatus employees. After the issue appeared our correspondent asked the justice minister whether he had managed to read the Vlasikhin article.

[Kravtsov] Yes, I have, and I consider it correct in principle. Save for the interpretation of the position of our ministry as a whole rather than one of its departments. Without going into detail, I would say that the very fact of the publication of our previous interview shows the ministry's deep interest in this problem. So there are no grounds at all for describing the Ministry of Justice as a legal wicked stepmother.

[Parkhomovskiy] Has the position of lawyers, notaries, and judges changed since the publication of the conversation entitled "Lawyers and Bureaucrats"?

[Kravtsov] That article, together with the steps taken by the USSR Ministry of Justice, have helped to prevent any cuts in lawyers, notaries, and judges at local level. The decisions by local bodies to cut the staffs of courts, notaries' offices, and legal consultancies have been deemed invalid by directive organs.

[Parkhomovskiy] Yesterday's article speaks about further enhancing the legal profession's role and establishing in this connection an all-union self-governing association or a USSR Union of Lawyers. I would like to know how you regard the possible transfer of a number of the Ministry of Justice's functions to the association that is being set up.

[Kravtsov] The existence of this association is provided for in the 19th party conference resolution "On Legal Reform." I regard the transfer of a number of our functions to it in a positive light. I think that it will be able to successfully deal with questions of improving lawyers' professionalism, drawing up professional ethical standards, ensuring that the collegium of lawyers receives the necessary methodological literature, providing assistance in the exchange of experience, and such like. Here I believe that the ministry's monitoring—as laid down by the present Law on the Legal Profession—of the law's observance must be retained.

[Parkhomovskiy] The draft rules for the future association enshrine its right to take the legislative initiative. What do you have to say on this score?

[Kravtsov] I think that this question can be seen as part of the current discussion of the draft changes and additions to the USSR Constitution. If it is set up, the All-Union Association of Lawyers will become one of the the country's public organizations and will enjoy the constitutional rights of such organizations.

[Parkhomovskiy] You said, "If it is set up." Does that mean that you have some doubts here?

[Kravtsov] You see, I think that there are a number of viable options here, as it were. A union and republic councils of collegiums could be an alternative to the association. But if the lawyers object.... This kind of question can only be resolved democratically.

I think that since, for some reason or other, far from all collegiums of lawyers were represented at the recent conference of lawyers in Voronezh which took the decision to create an all-union association, it would be a good idea to clarify the opinion of the absentees.

[Parkhomovskiy] But what would be the role here of the already formed nucleus of the organizing committee?

[Kravtsov] I think that the participation in it of the collegiums of lawyers not currently represented would help transform the organizing committee into a public body recognized by all collegiums.

[Parkhomovskiy] So you consider that the question of setting up a self-governing association of USSR lawyers with the backing of the majority of collegiums could happen in the very near future?

[Kravtsov] Yes, we live in times when it is absolutely impossible to shelve such questions. This applies to the association of lawyers, to the union of USSR jurists now being set up, and other forms of public activity by our citizens.

'Secrecy' Surrounding Foreign Debt Considered

PM0911171288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 44, 30 Oct 88 p 7

[Boris Fedorov "Viewpoint" article: "The USSR's Foreign Debt: A Need for New Approaches"]

[Text] Until recently we loved to discuss the US foreign debt, Mexico's foreign debt and the foreign debts of many other countries, but we never said anything about our own. The implication was it didn't exist.

To overcurious students we explained that we occasionally borrowed credits, but essentially had been, were and would be major creditors. That the terms "debt" and "indebtedness" had no relation to us. In specialized literature one could find information on this score relating to the 1920s-40s, but one would have to possess no small imagination to read something in between the scant few lines about the current period.

The secrecy surrounding our foreign borrowings is dispelled by the figures regularly published in many Western sources (including those freely available at Soviet libraries). One need not be a "genius of financial tricks" (Marx's definition) to guess that our creditors (Western banks) know the sums and terms of credits they have granted us and cannot conceal them by virtue of the laws

existing in all civilized nations. Even many socialist countries (China, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia) publish information about their debts and openly discuss the problem.

It is meaningless to lump together our borrowings and credits in convertible and non-convertible currencies. Some developing nations' considerable liabilities to us by no means compensate for our net debt to Western banks. Moreover, serious problems exist with retrieving our money, while we cannot afford not to honour our international commitments.

It is also time to admit that our borrowings in convertible currencies are a serious financial resource because the USSR's aggregate foreign debt at the close of 1987 added up, according to Western statistics, to some 39 billion dollars (25 billion dollars with the deduction of Soviet reserves, i.e., net deposits in Western banks). Conclusion about the economic leverage of these billions should not be made on the basis of an unfeasible official rate of exchange. Another aspect of the problem is the high growth rate of the foreign debt over the last three or four years primarily because of falling oil prices and a corresponding deterioration in the USSR's balance of payments in convertible currencies.

Some economists see our debt as insignificant in comparison with the liabilities of other nations in or per capita terms. But this approach is hardly serious since our debt is a national debt (not that of private banks and companies) whereas estimating the sum of the debt per capita (China would be first) has no practical meaning. All over the world the foreign debt is compared primarily with exports, currency reserves and expenses needed to serve the debt (payment of interest, repayment of credits), and considering the extent to which currency reserves cover the imports and what objective requirements for borrowings exist (e.g., balance of payments deficit). The use of international credit is normal business practice, but creditors always assess the borrower's ability to repay his debt, his economic and financial status. Given these indicators, the USSR's condition is neither catastrophic nor anything to be specially proud of. We rank 21st in the world table of borrowers "for the level of trust", which, I am convinced, is impermissible for a great power.

What matters is not our foreign debt per se. Of considerably greater importance is the formulation of an optimal state strategy of external borrowings, including the selection of the more effective forms and methods, the creation of a dependable decision-making mechanism and a system for redistribution and utilization of currency resources, ensuring maximum returns for the national economy. Given the fundamental economic reform we need fundamentally new approaches to external borrowings as well. We cannot do without more glasnost in this sphere.

For decades practically all Soviet external borrowings have been handled by one bank - the USSR Vnedshekonombank (Foreign Economic Bank) - which has formally acted, moreover, only on its own behalf. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that our system of domestic currency credits (when the funds in dollars, pounds sterling or marks would be granted to those who need them) is poorly developed, to put it mildly, and, consequently, most foreign credits are used as budgetary means.

Some people take decisions on enlisting currency resources, others implement these decisions, still others receive and use foreign exchange, but are not obliged to return it. In actual fact, the chain is even longer and more irrational. But even greater concern has been evoked by downright mismanagement of foreign exchange. The enterprises which worked well for export have for decades been deprived of the foreign exchange they earned "by way of exception" under the most diverse pretexts, while the mountains of uninstalled imported equipment have continued to grow and come of age, because it was often purchased by enterprises which had earned no currency resources.

Today changes are in evidence in the foreign economic sphere. But instead of real foreign exchange the right to it on a year's instalment plan and the absence of interest-based bank accounts cannot but evoke surprise. A redistribution of the credits obtained abroad in the shape of internal currency credits on a competitive basis is imperative. Can it be otherwise when going over to full cost accounting and self-financing? The receipt of a currency credit by an enterprise which really needs it will automatically ensure the most effective use of foreign exchange and the equipment bought with it, and prompt the need to take care of the sources for repaying the credits. Responsibility must be specific. We must know the names of the debtors instead of hanging the debt on the neck of the whole people. Together with the currency market suggested by many economists today a broad internal currency credit would sharply raise the return on foreign exchange and save perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars in new credits.

It is hardly possible to hope that one institution will be able to meet all the currency-credit needs of a vast country such as ours (witness the experience of other socialist countries and our own experience in the 1920s). specialized banks have been set up in the USSR with the aim of providing direct services to all enterprieses and organizations, and they could undertake part of the internal currency crediting given an extension of the right to have an outlet to the external market. In the case of the crediting plan in roubles, the USSR State Bank could furnish the government with a plan for currency crediting (predicated on the balance of payments and economic development plans), whereas specialized banks could attract credits from foreign banks to fit their quota or even guarantee independent borrowings by large-scale enterprises.

What is necessary is a genuine national policy of external borrowings and coordination of activities by all banks and institutions. As in any other country, this coordination can only be effected by the central bank (USSR State Bank) which is responsible for the monetary-credit policy and money circulation. The vitally important linkage of borrowings with the country's economic development plans and financial condition means that representatives from the USSR State Planning Comittee and the Ministry of Finance should take part in the corresponding commission at the central bank. It is time to draw a line between bank borrowings proper and the national debt - to call things by their proper names. In the meantime the vicious practice of rigidly dividing government departments and organizations into "internal" and "external" ones is being preserved, and foreign indebtedness is but indirectly related to the national economy as a whole.

The strategy and tactics of our external borrowings need to be improved. Much could be said about the need to make better use of the emission of securities as in industrialized countries. There are untapped reserves in extending the forms and methods of operations, choosing the markets, the range of our creditors and utilized currencies, the structure of indebtedness accoridng to time limits, etc. it is impossible to put all our eggs into one basket and lag behind the international credit markets - this is often fraught with unpredictable consequences.

The new strategy of borrowings requires more uniformity rather than trying to patch up the holes in the balance of payments. In restructuring the economy borrowings must be treated with redoubled caution since it is wrong to hope to solve the problem of shortages at their expense. "Eating up" foreign credits, as the experience of several socialist countries has shown, is sometimes more dangerous than refusing to get them. Perhaps it is advisable to take a closer look at the PRC's experience where preference is clearly given to direct foreign investments (in joint and foreign-owned ventures) because, besides money, this affords technology and managerial know-how and guarantees effective utilization of the resources.

Credits can and must be solicited and used. But perestroika calls for fundamentally new approaches, organization on a level with world standards and the utmost mobilization of the currency factor of economic reforms.

Doubts Cast on Leningrad Obkom Attitude to Pamyat

PM1511093988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Feature under the rubric "Following Up an IZVESTIYA Article" comprising response by Leningrad Obkom Secretary A. Degtyarev followed by IZVESTIYA editorial commentary: "Reverberations of Noisy Rallies"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA (No. 227) published a letter from a group of staffers of the Leningrad Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies under the headline "The Indecent Game Exploiting Decent Feelings in Which the 'Pamyat' Players Try To Involve People." The letter was followed by editorial comment.

The editorial office has received a reply to this feature from the Leningrad CPSU Obkom. Here is the content of the reply:

"The authors of the letter to the IZVESTIYA editorial office express justified concern at the antisocialist and chauvinist remarks voiced in a number of speeches at rallies organized by a group of citizens who claim to be members of the so-called "'Pamyat" National Patriotic Front.' When submitting applications to hold the rallies, the organizers, acting in their own name rather than that of 'Pamyat', gave assurances that the rallies would be held within the framework of the USSR Constitution and current legislation.

"The course of events revealed that the organizers of the rallies failed to keep their promises. The discussion of questions of history and the development of our state's culture was gradually supplanted by slanderous attacks on the CPSU and law enforcement organs, and nationalist slogans rang out more and more clearly.

"In this connection the Vasileostrovskiy Rayispolkom issued an official warning to the organizers of the rallies and subsequently banned the rallies as from 28 July 1988. Despite this, there were attempts to hold unauthorized rallies, which were thwarted by the militia.

"On 31 July and 12 August—that is, before the publication of the IZVESTIYA piece—and subsequently on 15 and 28 August and 6, 14, and 16 September the press organs of the Lenigrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom and the Komsomol Obkom—the newspapers LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY, VECHERNIY LENINGRAD, and SMENA—exposed in their articles the true aims and intentions of the supporters of 'Pamyat.'

"Appropriate explanations and guidelines are also issued to the city's large propaganda aktiv at lectures at the CPSU Obkom Political Education Center. A number of new forms of international education and strengthening of interethnic ties have been introduced.

"The IZVESTIYA feature was useful and timely, but attention is drawn to the inaccuracy of the editorial comment which followed the published letter. It refers to Comrade V.M. Borisov, deputy chairman of the Vasileostrovskiy Rayispolkom, who is alleged to have said that the rallies were authorized 'after a telephone call from the CPSU Obkom.' According to Comrade V.M. Borisov, he made no such statement.

"[Signed] A. Degtyarev, secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom."

Editorial Comment: We feel compelled to note that we regard the reference in the reply to "the inaccuracy of the editorial comment" above all as an attempt to sidestep discussion of the main point of the question. To be explicit: Did or did not the Leningrad party obkom have anything to do with the authorization of the scandalous "Pamyat" rallies at the Rumyantsevskiy public garden?

Now about the statements made (or not made) by the rayispolkom deputy chairman in conversation with the IZVESTIYA correspondent. V. Borisov himself did not complain to the editorial office that he had been misquoted. On receiving the obkom reply, our Leningrad correspondent A. Yezhelev again met with V. Borisov and asked him to clarify his position.

V. Borisov confirmed that he had met and talked to our correspondent. The disputed phrase, in his opinion, should read: The "Pamyat" rallies were authorized after "consultation with the obkom" rather than after "a telephone call from the obkom."

We believe that readers will agree with us that the "rephrasing" does not alter the crux of the matter.

Cooperative Bank Created in Leningrad

LD1611210688 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Leningrad November 16 TASS—The first cooperative bank patent has been created in Leningrad. Over 50 small and medium cooperatives became its shareholders. Their number is supposed to reach 150 by the end of the year.

The share of each of the shareholders in the bank's capital is 3,300 roubles, Viktor Silkin, 33, chairman of the bank, has said. The purpose of the patent is to help cooperatives in the solution of their financial problems. At present they avail themselves of the services of state banking institutions. However, the number of services they offer, as well as rather complicated formalities often do not satisfy cooperatives. "We hope to be able to compete with state banks using a simplified system of relations and easy-term interest rates," Silkin believes.

The insurance of commercial operations will be one of the first operations of the cooperative bank. Apart from it, the bank takes upon itself the organization of relations between cooperatives turning out manufactured goods and state trade institutions which sell them. It is planned to open in the future a network of the bank's branches in other cities.

Jewish Culture Society Planned for Moscow

LD1211143588 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—A Jewish culture society is being set up in the Soviet capital. This is one of manifestations of the current countrywide process of the restoration, strengthening and development of national cultures. Today's PRAVDA reports that everyone who wishes to join the new society can do so irrespective of nationality.

It has been planned to set up courses at the Society of Jewish Culture for the study of Hebrew and Yiddish as well as history, philosophy and religion, theatre, and club sections. There will be youth and sports associations, health building groups, and a cafe with national cuisine.

The society is to have its own publication—a bulletin.

Many prominent cultural personalities, among them composer Yan Frenkil, singer Iosif Kobzon, writer Arkadiy Vainer, film director Boris Sheinin and others, have expressed a wish to cooperate with the new organization.

Minister Chazov on Mysterious Child Disease

AU1711152488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Ye. I. Chazov, USSR minister of health, by PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondent A. Fedorov: "The Causes of the Chernovtsy Calamity Have Been Detected"—in Moscow "today"; please see reports published in the 15 November Soviet DAILY REPORT p 48]

[Text] **Scientists and specialists from Moscow scientific research institutes who are working in Chernovtsy to detect the causes of the mysterious children's disease, as well as responsible officials from the USSR Ministry of Health, with Minister Ye. I. Chazov at the head, today held a meeting with journalists from central newspapers on the results of the work of the Chernovtsy Commission.**

The press conference was also attended by our newspaper's correspondent A. Fedorov. Here is what he sent us from Moscow:

Fedorov: Yevgeniy Ivanovich, as our colleagues from the central newspapers said here today, the items published in PRAVDA UKRAINY slightly "lifted the curtain" on the children's disease in Chernovtsy, and this is why we would like to be the first to tell our readers the conclusions reached at present by the ministry's board, after having listened to the reports delivered by specialists.

Chazov: Frankly speaking, the situation was not simple, because this is the first time our medicine has run into the mysterious disease which hit 113 children in Chernovtsy within a few months. The session which has just ended summed up the results of the work carried out by the commission in the field. Among those present here were V. I. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and M. Ya. Studenikov, director of the Pediatrics Institute. The chemical and toxicological group was represented rather well by G. I. Sidorenko, director of the Stusin Institute, and Yu. N. Krasovskiy, professor at the same institute. We also considered it

expedient to entice M. N. Voldarev, director of our academy's Nutrition Institute, into the discussion. What I want to say is that many scientific research institutes were working on the problem. Nearly 20 institutes under various ministries, the Academy of Medical Sciences, and even the Kurchatov Institute were engaged in this undertaking in Moscow alone.

The idea of an infectious, virus-like cause of this pathology was the first to be turned down. Both the course of this process, and the character of the disease completely ruled out the possibility of some infection, although investigations in this field were also thorough. The main symptom of the disease, alopecia, hit mostly blond children with blue eyes, and the youngest ones.

Analyses of water and soil did not produce any appreciable results. But there were a number of symptoms showing the effects of heavy metals. Even before obtaining some concrete proof, because of the nature of the changes taking place in the hair, our specialists began to suspect the effects of a metal, in particular such as thallium, and this enabled us to speak about the possible effects of some heavy metals. To have a closer look at these hypotheses, we had to switch over to microanalytical examination. The analyses showed that we were dealing with a chemical disease, with intoxication.

In some districts of Chernovtsy the amount of thallium in the air proved to be elevated. An increased amount of it was also found in the soil. In our opinion, this was not just thallium alone. Most probably, there were also several other elements. For example, the content of aluminum found in the hair of sick children exceeded the norm ten-fold. Maybe aluminum does not cause grave complications by itself, but it ousts a number of other elements, in particular zinc. And the scarcity of zinc in the organism contributes toward the loss of hair. Thus, such a combination of these elements resulted in the children's disease. We consider that, in the final account, this disease is connected with the effects of the complex of metal microelements on the human organism.

Fedorov: Why did it happen precisely in Chernovtsy?

Chazov: I think that in this case the so-called acid rain played a role. It was noted that it occurred in Chernovtsy approximately around the end of July. Unfortunately, we are now unable to say anything about its composition. In addition, Chernovtsy has a particular geochemical background. It is situated on foothills with an increased content of a number of elements which, under normal conditions, are absolutely harmless to man, but may assert themselves when their concentration changes, as was the case in recent months. In addition, in the city it was found that the concentration of dust in the air exceeded the permissible amount by 4-5 times, and that this contributed toward the disease.

Fedorov: What is being done at present to eliminate the causes of the poisoning?

Chazov: The city is being cleansed of dust, the roofs and streets are being washed up to remove the microelements that generate the background. Moreover, specialized chemists have been put to work there. Most probably, soil liming will be necessary in districts with an increased thallium content.

Fedorov: Can you forecast any future effects of this children's disease? What changes in health and the state of mind are predictable, within say 5 or 7 years?

Chazov: In our opinion, the forecast should be favorable. It is to be assumed that the children's hair will gradually begin to grow again.

The state scientific and expert commission for overcoming the causes of the children's chemical disease is continuing its work in Chernovtsy.

Kazan Cathedral Demonstrators 'Sought Conflict'

PM1411131988 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 88 p 4

[I. Losev report under the rubric "What the Militia Report Reveals": "For Whom Is the 'Democratic Union' Lighting Candles?"]

[Text] Last Sunday a crowd of people gathered at the Kazan Cathedral. Some were holding lighted candles in their hands—candles of all kinds from thin church candles to fat souvenir candles. Here and there appeals to "honor the memory of the victims of political terror" could be heard...

What was going on? For what kind of victims and what kind of terror were the candles being lit? And why was the place teeming with militia? Passers-by were wondering to themselves and asking those who had assembled these questions.

Here is a quote from the militia report: "On 30 October 1988 at around 1500 a group numbering some 150 people from the unofficial 'Democratic Union,' 'Democratic Movement,' and 'Democratization of the Trade Unions' associations tried to hold an unauthorized demonstration under the motto 'In memory of the victims of political terror in the USSR'"... It must be specified here that "victims of political terror in the USSR" from 1917 through 1988 were to be commemorated. A "Democratic Union" slogan specifically stated this. In other words, we were being asked to bow our heads in memory not just of honest people who perished during the Stalinist repressions but also of the ring-leaders of counterrevolutionary plots and bandits who killed both Communists and Komsomol members, and also traitors who served the fascists and others "who have died at the Communists' hands during their 70-year rule." When I explained this to a woman outraged that the militia was

"breaking up" a gathering of people who had come to "commemorate" their dear ones, she grew embarrassed, blew out her candle, and said: "I am sorry, I did not know."

As soon as someone raised his voice, a tight circle of people formed around him. Some eagerly picked up every word, others, shrugging their shoulders, went on their way murmuring: "Some kind of nonsense."

"The militia is torturing my son to this day!"—a woman was shouting as if in a trance. "Who is your son?" The crowd inquired immediately. "Why is he being tortured?" "He is my son," the woman insisted, while some militia men standing nearby explained: "He is a criminal; that's why he's been locked up. You can check it out." Interest in the woman waned immediately.

When the organizers of the demonstration did not heed the militia officers' calls to disperse, the militia men began to detain the "orators." I quote again from the aforementioned report: "...When the violators of public order were taken to the 27th Precinct, those left behind tried to besiege the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration. They chanted: 'Free the detainees! Glasnost in judicial investigation!' Hooligan shouts could be heard..."

I entered the militia building. The purpose of my visit was to interview V.V. Terekhov, one of the organizers of the "Democratic Union," who had been brought here from Kazan Cathedral. Valeriy Vasilyevich was wearing a padded jacket—as if he had expected to be detained. He wore a black tie, held fast by a pin.

Our conversation was long. This is what I got to hear from him. I am citing almost verbatim; judge for yourselves.

"Our 'Democratic Union' is a political party which advocates parliamentary democracy, a multiparty system, and complete and unconditional implementation of democratic freedoms, **irrespective of their aims...** At Kazan Cathedral we were honoring the memory of both the Whites and the Reds, because the 'Democratic Union' is opposed to any **terror as method of struggle."**

When I quoted to him the utterances of members of the "Democratic Union" to the effect that "the communist regime in the USSR is on a par with the regimes of Hitler, Franco, and Pinochet," he grinned and said: "Do not insult Pinochet. He organized a national referendum as befits a democracy..."

With the arrogance of one granted higher knowledge, Valeriy Vasilevich told me that "Lenin and his party—a handful of people whom no one knew and who did not have widespread support among the people—existed merely on handouts from the Russian bourgeoisie in the person of Savva Morozov and his ilk, and also on money received from... Kaiser Wilhelm."

It emerged from Terekhov's words that the main obstacle to democratization in the USSR is the Communist Party, which has usurped power and which keeps the people within the rigid confines of totalitarianism. "Who then is expressing the current aspirations of the people," I asked him. "Your 'Democratic Union,' perhaps?" "Our party does not claim that it reflects the will of the whole people," he replied. "It is true that so far it cannot be claimed that the 'Democratic Union' enjoys great popularity, although its leaders can draw on the experience not only of the Communist Party but also of others, of more "democratic" parties in Russia before and after 1917. Perhaps now, having read Valeriy Vasilevich's revelations, Leningraders will be able to form a better picture as to what sort of people make up the ranks of the "Democratic Union."

So what was the upshot of the commemorative meeting? Criminal proceedings have been instituted against one of the participants under Article 191, three were sentenced to 7-10 days' detention under Article 166, and 12 were fined between R10 and R200. The examination of 15 cases has been postponed to 2 November. A further 15 people were cautioned, released, and told to keep the peace seeing that this was their first offense. These include passers-by who succumbed to the provocative appeals.

A total of 32 people were detained at the Kazan Cathedral on that day, and a further 12 in the vicinity of the station house. Each individual case will be investigated by the judicial authorities. However, one thing is indisputable: The organizers of this "show" deliberately sought conflict with the law enforcement organs. What they wanted was a "scandal," and the louder, the better.

Whatever the case, the outcome is sad, especially in view of the innocent passers-by who let themselves be dragged along by the crowd. Partly it is also our fault, the fault of journalists and the mass media. The time has come to state openly and bluntly who is who, and what they are after. Then, before lighting candles, many people would give some thought as to whose memory they were honoring.

Weekly Working for 'Foreign Foes,' Claims Reader

PM0911150288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 45, 6 Nov 88 p 2

[Reader's letter from the "Letters to the Editor" column: "Only Capitalist Agents Stand To Gain. Open Letter to Yegor Yakovlev, Editor-in-Chief of 'MOSCOW NEWS'"]

[Text] With indignation and bitterness I have observed over the past three years how your newspaper has been turning increasingly into an organ working not for socialism and our Motherland, but for our foreign foes. From issue to issue your newspaper prints material abusing and spitting upon our country, its history and past.

Brandishing the flag of repressions, you have been trying to use them to overshadow the entire heroic past of our country, portraying them as the main aspect of the prewar and postwar periods. Our people's heroism in building the economic and social foundations of socialism (I emphasize: socialism) in our country is being obscured. Of course, the represssions against innocent people which took place in the prewar and postwar years are a great tragedy and pain for our whole people and country. They were carried out on orders from the top echelons of the ruling body, not controlled by the people. But the shadow of the repressions fell upon all our people, upon our entire system and upon the whole country. The innocent victims of repressions have to be rehabilitated. But, to raise such a hullabaloo around the repressions, to put our tragedy on display for our foes to see and enjoy is both unseemly and criminal. Whatever little bits bourgeois agents procured before to denigrate our Motherland in the eyes of their people, you treaty them to wholesale through your paper. How would you, Yegor Yakovlev, feel if your family affairs and secrets were read out for your neighbours and other strangers to enjoy? Even though it might be the truth about your family affairs, you would not rejoice at it. You, Yegor Yakovlev, are by far not a first-class journalist, but you are a brilliant mediocrity, and you are supposed to possess an intellect enabling you to understand that denigrating our country's past in a newspaper by parading before the enemies data detrimental to the country's prestige is unworthy both of a Soviet newspaper and of a Soviet journalist. It was with a feeling of disgust that I read in your paper of October 9, 1988, the article entitled "Kuropaty." With what delight you relish the details of our people's execution near Minsk: how people were shot through the back of their head, from under the skull or through the side. Who needs these details? After all, you provide the foes with material for educating their people in the feeling of disgust for our country and hostility for socialism as a system. I feel ashamed and hurt by your newspaper and by you, Yegor Yakovlev, as Editor-in-Chief of this newspaper.

Respectfully, Butivchenko Aleksey Fedorovich, veteran of the Great Patriotic War, D.Sc. (Military Sciences), Professor

Briefing Held on Access to Archives

PM1411120788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Taranov article under the rubric "Press Conferences": "Archives and Secrets"]

[Text] On 9 November NOVOSTI organized a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists entitled "Glasnost and Archives."

The problem of access to archive documents has long been a chronic one. Colossal interest in the USSR's history and the processes of reinterpreting the past caused by restructuring have aggravated it. So the talk on restructuring archive work is urgent. By the way, people prepared for it for months. As far back as April the briefings organizers at NOVOSTI promised a meeting with the leaders of the Main Archive Administration,and with representatives of departments which contain many documents about the country's history.

The question would seem to be clear: Major changes are needed, as perhaps is a purposeful state program noting precisely which archive problems will be resolved in the immediate future and when and by whom. The journalists came to the briefing to find out about this.

But the speech by V. Tsaplin, member of the Main Archive Administration collegium, took a different course. The arithmetic approach predominated: So many documents were open, and so many remain under lock and key. F. Kovalev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Diplomatic History Administration, and B. Levshin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Archive, provided the same kind of information... The figures, although interesting in themselves, nonetheless poorly illustrated restructuring in archive work as a whole. Not a word on mutual relations with departments which hand in their "individual documents for storage." The simplification of access to documents and their broad use were mentioned only in passing. How, for example, can the phrase repeated again and again—that many materials are inaccessible because they contain "state or military secrets"—be interpreted? What should be counted as a secret? Who determines, and how, the secrecy of a particular piece of information and the length of time before it can be made public? Those very same departments which for decades concealed it from outsiders!

Of course, such a complex topic is not exhausted in one conversation. Even now problems exist which need to be resolved urgently. For instance, here are some facts reported in a press release.

The USSR People's Control Committee hands over documents connected with religious activity to the state archive. But the Council for Religious Affairs believes they are secret and classifies them as "restricted." The USSR State Committee for Statistics, which just last year provided access to population counts which were held as far back as the 1930's, is also accustomed to "holding back" information. This same committee believes that the national economic plan fulfillment figures of past 5-year plans are secret. Foreign Ministry, KGB, USSR MVD, and Defense Ministry archives are still not easily accessible to researchers... All this is exacerbated by the shortage of workers who are able to rapidly review millions of documents and materials and make them openly accessible.

Actually, not all archive work is so bad. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission, which publishes reports on the rehabilitation of persons who were repressed, gave major impetus to the declassification

process and the overcoming of departmental "habits." All materials without exception kept in the archives of party and state organs are at its disposal, it was stressed at the briefing.

Great significance is attached to publications of archive documents in the press. Up to 3,000 items appear annually in periodicals, more than 2,000 radio and television broadcasts are organized, and over a thousand documentary exhibitions are arranged.

MVD's Demidov on Disciplining of Uzbek Officials

PM1511090588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 4

[USSR Deputy Internal Affairs Minister N. Demidov "Response to Newspaper Criticism": "'Pensioner Against the Mafia,' 15 July 1988"]

[Text] In 1982, during the investigation of the criminal case against P. Bakhodirov, a number of personnel of Fergana Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration organs committed gross breaches of socialist legality. The personnel involved in the investigation of the criminal case, including Fazylov, former chief of the Internal Affairs Administration, Iminov, former chief of the Internal Affairs Administration Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, Niyazbekov, former inspector of the Internal Affairs Administration Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, and Kasymov, former senior inspector of the Altyarykskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, were dismissed from the internal affairs organs for their violations.

The Oblast Prosecutor's Office made a representation to the Fergana Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration leadership in connection with the facts set out in the article "A Pensioner Against the Mafia" in order to solve the question of the liability of Kunduzov, currently deputy chief of the Rishtanskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, and Babarakhimov, currently a senior officer in the Internal Affairs Administration Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation.

Elements of a crime, as envisaged by Article 150 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code, "Exceeding powers or official authority," are identifiable in Kunduzov's actions. But the question of instituting criminal proceedings against him cannot be decided, in the opinion of the Fergana Oblast prosecutor, because of the statute of limitations (Article 46 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code). For the same reason action has not been taken against Babarakhimov for committing a disciplinary misdemeanor. At an expanded session of the Internal Affairs Administration Commission for Safeguarding Socialist Legality Kunduzov and Babarakhimov were severely reprimanded.

The commission's decision and the article in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA were studied with the operational command personnel of all city rayon internal affairs organs.

At the same time, in view of the fact that through his actions Kunduzov has compromised himself as a leader, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry instructed the Uzbek SSR Internal Affairs Ministry leadership to consider whether it is advisable to continue using him in the post he currently occupies.

The Uzbek SSR Internal Affairs Ministry is taking additional steps to avert and prevent violations of socialist legality by personnel of services and subunits. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is giving the republic's internal affairs organs the requisite practical assistance in carrying out the work.

Discredited Leaders Deserve No Personal Benefits

PM1711143188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Kuleshov article: "Republican Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Released From Office 'For Shortcomings in Work'"]

[Text] Turkmen SSR—It is not often that the formula "for shortcomings in work...." is used in our country when chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums are released from office. We are somehow more accustomed to different ones: "in connection with retirement on pension" or "transfer to other work," even though everybody realizes that there should be no place for some leaders, either on pension or in other work. So for some reason or another there has simply been no objective examination of the case....

Bally Yazkuliyev was unlucky: His request—to be released from office in connection with retirement on pension for health reasons—was immediately turned down. It was not turned down because the necessary medical documents were lacking; he was nowhere near pensionable age.... The career of the chairman of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet Presidium all too clearly bulged with facts which would have prompted any cadre official who summed them up to look fearlessly in the Labor Law Code for a much more serious formula than "for shortcomings at work." Nevertheless, that was the decision made by the republic Supreme Soviet not so long ago, when it relieved Bally Yazkuliyev of his duties. He did not protest. Here is the reason why.

For 10 years Yazkuliyev held high official posts in Tashauz Oblast. The selfsame oblast about which the newspapers wrote: "Many of the negative trends which

emerged in Turkmenia's economy and social development in recent years were displayed especially acutely in all their ugliness in Tashauz Oblast." And this is correct. About 10,000 instances of theft and embezzlement were brought to light there during the 11th 5-Year Plan alone. Bribes running into millions of rubles were paid to cover up large-scale embezzlement in Leninskiy, Ilyalinskiy, Kalininskiy, and other rayons in the oblast, which acquired great notoriety through crimes and overreporting in the procurement and processing of raw cotton.

Here is how it was all explained at a plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee which straightened out many things: "The major failures in the oblast's socioeconomic development were the result of the perversion of Leninist principles of work with cadres. Cadres were often selected and promoted not on the basis of professional qualities, but according to the principle of home-town favoritism, kinship, and personal loyalty. This engendered nepotism and mutual protection, and led to the infiltration of alien morality into party and soviet organs, and to moral degeneration...." The plenum expelled the Tashauz Oblispolkom chairman and four party obkom secretaries from the CPSU. One had to stand trial....

But these terrible winds of change did not affect Bally Yazkuliyev. When he moved from Tashauz to Ashkhabad and became, initially, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and later chairman of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet Presidium, Yazkuliyev never forgot to whom he owed his high office. He regularly visited his native region, where the high-ranking fellow countryman was appropriately received. People knew: As one of the republic's top leaders and member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Bally would always help. And if need be he would stick up for his own people, he would put in a word in the right quarter, he would offer protection from adversity and meticulous commissions. And he did stick up for his own people, fixing them up with jobs if necessary....

When the Central Committee Bureau and later the plenum examined the question of gross violations of party and state discipline, complicity in overreporting, window dressing, and bribery, he refrained from making a party assessment of the state of affairs in the oblast, limiting himself to a statement that he agreed with the draft resolution....

"What's the explanation of such restraint?" I asked S. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, at the time.

"It's nothing more than the fact that, in personal terms, he hardly differs from those selfsame obkom secretaries Atayev, Shamuradov, and Ploshkin," came the reply....

More or less the same thing was said at the republic Supreme Soviet session which made a principled decision to dismiss B. Yazkuliyev: "State funds were used and housing area norms were breached in order to build him a residence in Tashauz, which he left to his elderly mother following his move to Ashkhabad; then, having occupied a brand new cottage there, B. Yazkuliyev managed to get another home allocated to his son's family. He moved out of these residences only after IZVESTIYA wrote about all this on two occasions...."

"It obviously got through to him; his conscience finally woke up," deputies said during breaks in the session.

But his conscience is probably totally nonexistent. Because even today, despite all the winds of change, B. Yazkuliyev still lives peacefully in his sumptuous two-story cottage on a quiet Ashkhabad street.

Almost before the ink was dry, so to speak, on the pages of the local press which reported B. Yazkuliyev's release from office for shortcomings in work, it was learned that he had been appointed chairman of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments Board Presidium. As a matter of fact, this office in the republic has long been a traditional sanctuary for many leaders who failed at work. A job that does not involve too much trouble....

It appears, however, that Bally Yazkuliyev did not get it by accident. "For many years now," I read in the minutes of the Society for the Protection of Monuments Board Presidium session, "Comrade B. Yazkuliyev has been an active patron and chairman of our society; he is not only thoroughly familiar with our collective's work but has also been of constant assistance in improving its work. In this context, we ask that B. Yazkuliyev be approved as candidate for the office of full-time chairman of the Society Presidium Board...."

I felt embarrassed to read these words, spoken by Doctor of Historical Science Prof A. Gubayev, who is respected in the republic. After all, he is indeed an enthusiastic champion of the republic's spiritual wealth and has on numerous occasions witnessed the truly barbaric treatment of historical and cultural monuments in Turkmenia, as he himself has told me many times. I realized perfectly well: He talked absurdly of "B. Yazkuliyev's active assistance in improving the society's activity" while well aware of the absolutely lamentable state of the protection of historical and cultural monuments in Turkmenia. Here, for example, is an extract from a report by the republic Committee of People's Control: "The administrations of museums and properties under conservation orders are intolerably slack in their work to list, protect, repair, restore, and utilize historical and cultural monuments. The territory of the old city of Merv has been turned into a city dump. Inventory lists are not available anywhere, the public is not involved in actions to protect the monuments...."

So what was the "assistance," what was the energetic "activity to improve the society's work" that they talked about? And they did not just talk about it.

I read the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers ordinance: "To accept the proposal of the republic's Voluntary Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in the Turkmen SSR, coordinated with the Ministry of Finance, to introduce into the organizational structure of the central apparatus of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments Presidium the office of chairman with a salary of R200...."

But it did not end with just the salary. Literally a few days later, the republic Council of Ministers produced, for some unknown reason, a strange document: "To institute a personal supplement of R130 per month for Comrade Yazkuliyev, chairman of the republic's Voluntary Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments...."

For what reason? For what services was this generous supplement awarded? Why such generosity at the state's expense?

"How did this ordinance about Yazkuliyev's personal supplement originate?" I asked A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers.

"It was decided by the Central Committee Bureau," I was told in reply.

I then asked the same question at the republic Communist Party Central Committee.

"Fabrications. There has been no mention of any personal supplement for Yazkuliyev; we at the Bureau have neither made nor intend to make any decisions on this account," S. Nesterenko, second secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, explained to me.

Nor could it be otherwise. The only point that is incomprehensible is why the republic Council of Ministers should show such concern for a former president who failed to justify the people's trust—or is this the old tradition of corporate support? One can still hear in Turkmenia ironical remarks about those who went to so much trouble to promptly provide a new job for M. Gapurov, former first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, soon after his release from office. And yet why bother, you might wonder? He has a pension of almost R400, a residence in a quiet lane, a dacha in Firyuza—let him sit back and enjoy it. But no: They found a cozy niche for the former leader and—to everyone's amusement—appointed him director of the republic Exhibition of National Economic Achievements....

"Over a long period of time, through the fault of Turkmenia's former leaders"—I am quoting a letter to IZVESTIYA from Turkmen SSR Honored Jurist Kh. Bagyyev—"the CPSU Statute and socialist legality were crudely trampled, and there were widespread coverups of major criminals, embezzlements, bribery, overreporting, and crimes by members of their families. They led the life of feudal beys and khans...."

This old Cheka staffer knew a lot and wrote about a lot in his letters to the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. As a rule, the letters were all filed away without any further checks. But Bagyyev did not give up, even when he was dismissed from the organs and expelled from the party.... Nor was he the only one!

Today it is known that while corruption, nepotism, and parochialism flourished in Turkmenia, honest Communists dedicated to the party cause were being persecuted, outlawed, and arrested.... And these valiant fighters for the truth have received neither compensation nor benefits to this day. And it would probably be ludicrous to claim any benefits. So why are exceptions made for discredited leaders of ill repute? Let us, at long last, be consistent: You're released from office for shortcomings in work—and that's it, period, you get no personal supplements!...

Economic

Currency Withdrawal Urged To Check Inflation

PM1711111188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Nov 88 p 3

[Soltan Dzarasov "Viewpoint" article: "Stopping the Printing Press"]

[Text] Never before has our country's grave financial position been discussed with such frankness as at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session. The slowdown in the pace of economic growth has resulted in an excess of state expenditure over income. As a result the state budget is running a deficit.

In 1989 it will fall almost R35 billion short of covering expenditure. The shortfall will have to be covered via resources from the loans fund, that is, spare money from enterprises and the population's savings. The shortage of goods results in a shortage of income, and then the state resorts to the printing press to cover its expenditure. Money that is unspendable because the goods are not available [ne obespechennye tovarami dengi] is put into circulation. It swamps all outlets, and the result is inflation. So, by acknowledging the budget deficit, we have admitted the reality of inflation.

The admission of something which became obvious long ago is undoubtedly a step forward. But I think we still underestimate "our" inflation as a mirror of financial difficulties. And it is time to admit that its consequences are not the same under socialism and under capitalism. "Over there," in free market conditions, in this case there is a spontaneous increase in prices which leads to balance between demand and supply. That is, a process of self-regulation occurs. But in our country, with a

planned market and firm prices, the reverse occurs—goods are swept off the shelves in a flash. Frenzied demand leads to frenzied shortage. What kind of self-regulation is this....

The situation is very serious, yet we are only just learning to use the word "inflation" about our reality. However, in the last 15 years consumer goods production doubled and the amount of money in circulation increased by a factor of 3.1. And if you take a longer period, presumably the ratio will be 1:2. This means that the purchasing power of money has almost halved since the beginning of the 1960's!

Alas, given this inflation and the present demand for goods, it is impossible to ensure normal supplies for the population and provide the necessary resources to enterprises, or to make people save them. Waste is a direct consequence of the circulation of unspendable money [neobespechennykh deneg], which basically does not limit the use of resources. Enterprises have hundreds of billions in their accounts, and this seriously hinders the introduction of full economic accountability. But the printing press continues to work relentlessly, supporting the black market with its disincentive [nepodyemnyy] prices and eroding the range of cheap goods on the planned market.

We have been talking for many years about eliminating the rationed supply of enterprises with material and technical resources and switching to free wholesale trade in means of production. But nothing is happening. Why? Mainly because of the mass of spare cash that the enterprises have; if you open up the bases, no one knows who will get what.

It seems clear that the situation must be changed. But how? An influential group of economists has proposed increasing prices. This proposal is backed up by mutually exclusive arguments. On the one hand they say that it is possible to remove surplus money from circulation by increasing prices and thus restore the balance between demand and supply. On the other hand, they are proposing to distribute subsidies from the state budget (about 60 billion for meat, and also other goods) to the population in the form of increased wages, pensions, allowances, and grants. Then, they say, the state will be relieved of an unnecessary burden and the population will be more economical in expending money and goods.

But all this makes the venture pointless. If the amount of goods does not increase but the amount of money in the population's hands increases, then this will by no means lower the demand for goods which are in short supply. Isn't that so?

The first argument about increasing prices without any kind of compensation seems more serious. Implementation of this proposal seems as though it ought to bring a certain balance to the correlation between demand and supply. But the balance may only be temporary, for, if there is a lack of goods, after a short time, as has happened more than once, the correlation will once again be disrupted. But we must not do this, for it would mean a direct reduction in the people's level of consumption and it is difficult to say what its consequences would be.

When discussing the existing system of retail prices, A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, has claimed repeatedly that "...it breeds shortages and empty shelves in food stores. If this price system is retained, it will maintain these phenomena. The system itself leads us to inflation, to monetary imbalance in the country. Because subsidies are growing faster than national income."

See how everything can be turned on its head! Until now the rise in prices was considered the most glaring manifestation of inflation. Moreover, the inflation rate is determined by the level of increase in prices. As for the higher increase in subsidies in comparison with the growth of national income, it has nothing at all to do with inflation since what is important is not the route whereby money gets into circulation, but the amount. What is complicated or inaccessible about this idea?

No, inflation will not lessen but, on the contrary, will intensify as a result of the increase in prices. Especially as there will be an inevitable rise in wages. Moreover, an increase in prices produces a chain reaction of other increases, and after a while we shall be back where we were.

The stormy debate about price formation which has developed and in which all strata of society have joined testifies to the indestructibility of old truths. All our economic and political problems intersect in prices. Yes, precisely there. For this reason no one is indifferent. The fact that objections based on serious political and economic considerations were put forward from various sides is particularly interesting in this controversy. They can be assessed in the following way.

First, the times when the people agreed to sacrifices in the name of a better future have receded into the past. A new generation of people has grown up which believes that it should not only plow but also harvest. So it is against attempts by the bureaucracy to transfer to it the consequences of its own irresponsible and negligent leadership. Of course, this position does not preclude changes in prices that may be dictated by life, but these will be acceptable only if the people's well-being increases.

Second, most of the population believes that the problems facing us cannot be resolved by manipulating prices. Repeated increases in wholesale, purchase, and retail prices after a while have brought everything full circle. In this sense the current round, it is true, is no different from previous ones. Today's strained situation must be seen as a result of a long-standing policy

whereby the most important internal political and foreign policy actions were taken without taking into account the country's real potential. Voluntarism in politics led to wastefulness in the economy. Expensive programs were formulated (the Baykal-Amur Railroad, the Non-Chernozem Zone, land reclamation, and others) without taking into account the real return from their implementation. As a result expenditure grew geometrically, and income at best arithmetically. One part of national economic expenditure was frittered away, while the other settled in our pockets by fair means or by foul and demanded an appropriate supply of goods. The printing press continued to work.... More and more unspendable money came into circulation, hence the rise in prices and deficit. Now we are all—enterprises and citizens—the victims of raging unchecked inflation in the planned economy.

To overcome this unruly inflation is to ensure the precondition for successfully conducting the economic reform. Unfortunately, during its implementation we have put the cart before the horse and begun with the introduction of full economic accountability, which, in the absence of a full-value monetary unit, has not improved efficiency. Cost-covering in itself, without the proper preconditions, unfortunately does not lead to the necessary goal.

What would I, for example, propose to combat and overcome inflation? In my view, the reverse of what was done before is needed. Then unspendable paper money was put into circulation, and now it must be withdrawn from circulation. It is true it is much more difficult to withdraw money than to issue it, but I think this is the only painless way to the improve the health of the economy.

During the anti-inflation program it will be necessary to sharply reduce state expenditure, which in turn requires a reduction in payment of hard cash. How? By cutting unnecessary links of management and inflated staffs. Particularly staff employed in unnecessarily guarding establishments and serving the bureaucracy. By abandoning the expensive construction of memorials....

Further, a number of expensive but ineffective national economic programs like land reclamation, which has not proved its worth, should be abandoned. Political decisions making it possible to reduce military expenditure are needed. A major reserve is the population's spare money, which can be more actively enlisted to develop lease and cooperative production. Also in production, enterprises' fixed and circulating capital should be revalued downward.

I would definitely supplement these measures by expanding the manufacture and also the purchase on the world market of goods sold at a higher price, the income from which would be withdrawn from circulation. It would not hurt to replace the circulation of cash with cashless circulation by introducing computer technology into accounting.

Of course, the proposed measures can be amended and concretized so as to produce each year a certain amount of money, running into billions of rubles, which would be withdrawn from circulation. To make my arguments more convincing I can also say that there is nothing unusual in this system of anti-inflation measures. It is used by all countries which are improving their economy.

It is impossible to overestimate the positive influence of such a program on improving the health of the economy. In addition to the increase in the Soviet ruble's purchasing power, the prestige of honest labor will increase, interest in it will increase, the pressure of the money mass on the commodity mass will be reduced, and the commodity supply will come into line with popular demand.

There is no doubt that the implementation of the proposed measures will require great efforts by the state. But these efforts will be rewarded inasmuch as they are simultaneously directed at resolving two tasks: increasing the level of the people's well-being and improving the health of the economy. Their main virtue is that these measures will not only prevent people from becoming nervous but, on the contrary, will strengthen their belief that restructuring will take place in the interests and in the name of the people.

Agricultural

Obkom Chief Addresses Orel Conference

PM1711154388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report under general heading: "Social Development in the Countryside Must Be Accelerated"]

[Excerpts] Orel, 14 Nov—A conference which will spend 2 days discussing topical questions of the present stage of restructurinmg and primarily party-political backup for the fulfillment of the 19th all-union party conference decisions on improving food supplies to the population opened here today. [passage omitted]

The conference was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [passage omitted]

Ye.S. Stroyev, first secretary of Orel CPSU Obkom, was called upon to speak. He said the following:

Allow me on the instructions of the party obkom bureau, the Communists, and all the oblast's working people to cordially welcome you to Orel soil, which is steeped in

the blood of our multiethnic motherland's best sons and daughters. This is the first time that such a meeting has been held in the center of Russia and we are profoundly grateful to the Central Committee and to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for your assessment of our modest achievements and for the concern and great attention that you are devoting to the transformation of this kray.

During your stay we will try to acquaint you with the practical work of party organizations and labor collectives to implement the party's April course of restructuring and accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Orel region's agro-industrial complex.

It is customary to begin the familiarization process with a brief description of the oblast. As you are well aware, it is situated in the very center of Russia and occupies an area of 25,000 square kilometers.

The population numbers 864,000 people, 64 percent of whom live in cities.

We have 7 cities, 14 urban settlements, and 23 rural rayons. Approximately 340,000 people live in the oblast center, with which you have gained some acquaintance. [passage omitted]

The war-ravaged economy and industry have been reconstructed virtually from scratch. Today the oblast produces graders, various pumps, clocks, instruments, computers, and many other things. Output from our industrial enterprises is delivered to 70 countries of the world. In comparison with the prewar period, the volume of production has increased by a factor of 30.

The Russian countryside, which was itself in an incredibly difficult condition, gave life to all these new plants and factories, high-rise apartments, modern institutes, and other benefits of urban civilization.

That is why our oblast's working people greeted with great approval the words that you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, uttered at the Fourth Kolkhoz Workers' Congress: "The problems of the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone...concern all Soviet people.... It is the heart of Russian territory.... During most difficult years people living there shared everything possible in a fraternal way with the country's other areas, and made a vast contribution to the economic and cultural formation of many of our republics."

The oblast's Communists and working people ardently supported the party's course of a shift toward the needs of the agrarian sector of the economy. It is extremely necessary for us to revive the countryside and give it both the strength and the conviction that its turn has finally come. For owing to the consequences of wartime ruin, followed by voluntarism and the residue principle of investing in the social sphere, the proclaiming of many villages and hamlets to be "unpromising," the closing of understaffed schools and district hospitals, and other negative phenomena, things reached the point where the difficulties were beyond all endurance. People began to leave their native areas. In the last 20 years the size of the rural population has halved and more than 700 villages and hamlets dating back centuries ceased to exist.

But instead of curing this disease we began to hide it from people. We completely crushed the countryside and in addition also disrupted the country's financial system by putting very low prices on bread, meat, milk, and other agricultural products while at the same time raising prices for equipment, construction materials, spare parts, and other resources and services several times without the consent of these self-same peasants. Like the protest made by the dumb Gerasim in Turgenev's "Mumu," the peasant began to lose any interest in social production and was degraded as the main feeder of the country. He began to be overtaken by apathy and indifference, social dependence and hopelessness.

In this situation the production potential created in the countryside did not provide the requisite return. The productivity of fields and livestock units remained low. More than 70 percent of livestock units were unprofitable.

Even after the adoption of the resolution on the Non-Chernozem area we still continued to discuss the material base out of habit; we wanted to obtain more meat and milk but man himself and his needs and concerns were a side issue. In many livestock units the social sphere accounts for a total of only 5-7 percent of the value of fixed capital. As a result the very structure of rural life was destroyed.

That is why Communists and all rural workers saw the line of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum as the dawn of hope, a brilliant and bold idea capable of returning us to Lenin's understanding of agrarian policy at the contemporary stage. Guided by these approaches and by the instructions that you gave us in Belgorod and then in Tselinograd, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the oblast party organization has begun to resolve social questions more thoroughly, work out economic methods of management, and seek other ways of reviving Orel's rural areas. It was important for us to translate general political directives into the language of concrete actions for every labor collective.

With this in view we critically analyzed the situation that had taken shape and studied the experience of Moscow Oblast, Lithuania, and Belorussia, and on this basis singled out the main areas for our work, submitted them to a plenum, ratified 12 targeted comprehensive programs, and determined the people responsible for their fulfillment from among the bureau and oblast soviet ispolkom members.

Were cadres ready for such a drastic change? Now, in retrospect, I can say openly that they were not. Party tact had to be used to attentively reinforce leading areas with

young but skilled and politically mature cadres. Almost 40 party raykom and gorkom secretaries entered the leadership, and economic organs were substantially renewed. This was done in a timely fashion. Most of them were able to rapidly control the situation and change the atmosphere for the better. Executive discipline in organizations and departments rose considerably.

At the party obkom plenum we set our main task as being that of finding ways to overcome the apathy generated by workers' alienation from property and the results of their labor. With this in view we began to actively introduce the collective contract in our oblast. Positive experience was accumulated in this area by the Glazunovskiy Rayon party organization and this was approved by the party Central Committee.

The collective contract enabled us to revive production. But at the very beginning we noted that it did not resolve the main task—it did not fully guarantee the question of controlling expenditure on output production—that is, the cost-cutting mechanism was not operational.

That is why, guided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum on transferring the economy to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, we began to persistently introduce the lease contract everywhere on the basis of buying and selling output and means of production. From the outset we sensed that this form is the most easily understood by ordinary workers. It began in real life to make them the masters of production and ensured tight economic control over production expenditure, administrative and managerial personnel, and specialists, and most importantly liberated man's heart and mind. It became possible for the first time to reveal who was who—that is, to find out everyone's talents and capabilities. An assault on depersonalized property—the main citadel of the bureaucratic system—had indeed begun.

As a result we set about to ensure that agrarian policy begin to be determined by the primary labor collectives and producers themselves, rather than by the command and bureaucratic apparatus.

A great deal is being said and written in favor of the lease today, though it is not always intelligible. It is most frequently confused with the collective contract. But one must acknowledge objectively that when the new movement was just beginning there was still no theoretical or practical experience. We had to advance by trial and error, through constant consultations with the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and personal consultations with Academician A.A. Nikonov.

The oblast's Communists have already come up against a practical task—that of not merely analyzing the new economic mechanism, but finding and training pioneers and proving through real examples the sublime effectiveness of lease relations. Recommendations in line with local conditions were elaborated, and all the leaders and specialists were instructed, including raykom and gorkom first secretaries and gorispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen. Records have been kept. Approximately 90,000 agro-industrial complex workers underwent course instruction.

Some 450 specialists, scientists, and senior workers from the party-economic aktiv were sent to kolkhozes and sovkhozes to offer practical help. Economic accountability days began to be held regularly, and livestock farmer days every Wednesday. Regular meetings with leaseholders in the form of debates became the practice. Thus the most deep-seated aspects of the new economic relations are better elucidated, and braking factors are removed in a timely fashion.

The obkom bureau heard reports on this question from 12 party committees, and approved the experience of the work of the party committees at Dolzhanskiy Rayon's "Vyshne-Olshanskiy" Sovkhoz and Sverdlovskiy Rayon's Sverdlov Kolkhoz, and also the initiative of Uritskiy Rayon's leaseholders, who resolved to transfer the entire rayon to the lease contract. Communists headed this movement.

As a result of laborious work on the part of party committees and specialists, various organizational forms of lease collectives have taken shape in our oblast. Highly specialized links have become most widespread often on a family or kinship basis. We consider this form of leasing to be most stable, promising, and successful.

We also have larger subunits that contract an entire rotation of crops or livestock unit. Highly specialized cooperatives with accounts at the Agro-Industrial Bank, such as, for instance, those producing perennial grass seeds, especially clover and alfalfa, have also arisen. The population has created interfarm cooperatives producing meat, and also piglets, in a number of rayon centers. Cooperatives offering help in organizing personal subsidiary farms and consumer services for veterans and the elderly are taking root. All "Agropromstroy" brickyards are switching to leases.

Today I can say with conviction that the lease has taken deep root, moreover without any administrative pressure. It has given people an idea and people have grown up on this idea—firm, convinced supporters of restructuring.

There are many brilliant and convincing examples of highly effective work by leaseholders in the oblast. We have invited many pioneers to today's meeting. You will meet some of them directly at their places of work. [passage omitted]

Overall, labor productivity in lease collectives throughout the oblast this year has been 90 percent higher than with the usual labor organization, while wages have risen

only 25 percent. At present more than 400 family collectives are working in our oblast and 53 livestock units have transferred completely to the lease contract. Thus, peasant roots are still alive, and that is the main thing in party work. It is no coincidence that this question is one of the central questions at rayon report party conferences now being held.

Second. The lease necessarily put on the agenda the transfer of all leaders and specialists to labor remuneration out of gross income. All livestock unit leaders and specialists and all rayon agro-industrial association specialists transferred to this form of labor remuneration as of last year and this January respectively. This has boosted their interest in assimilating intensive technologies and compelled them to assimilate more actively the achievements of scientific and technical progress. We have set up seven science-and-production systems, notably for protein and feed, grain, breeding, and other areas, in order to impart a system to this work. Some of them are represented at the exhibition here.

Changes in the grassroots organizational structure have made it necessary to implement structural changes in the management of the agro-industrial complex at rayon and oblast level. Now livestock unit leaders themselves are raising the following question at party conferences: If service sectors cannot be reorganized differently let's buy them. There's no time to lose. This is the second year that the "Livny" agricombine, which is beginning to form ties with foreign firms, has been in operation in our oblast. The Orlovskiy and Uritskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Associations have been transferred to the cooperative form of management. Specialists have begun to be transferred to working in lease collectives. More than 500 agronomists, engineers, and animal technicians are already working here.

But the difficulties that we encountered in the agrarian complex could not be resolved by these measures alone. Life imperatively demanded social transformations in the countryside. We have begun this task in our oblast by reviving backward livestock units. They needed to be given a real chance to get on their feet. We have elaborated and are implementing a targeted comprehensive program for the socioeconomic development of 106 of the most backward kolkhozes and sovkhozes, where no other measures were able to rectify the situation. The construction of settlements with all living amenities and a developed social sphere was organized here through the efforts of contract organizations. Today 80 such settlements are at various stages of readiness. You will see some of them.

We have channeled more than R500 million in capital investments into these purposes. I must be blunt and say that this change was not easy. The obkom party bureau encountered a chorus of objections from people who had long since written off these livestock units as a lost cause.

Moreover, the party obkom supported the national construction initiative whereby city and rayon center enterprises and organizations pledge to erect one new settlement each per year. The idea came into being in May, and by the fall we had already begun taking delivery, one after another, of 28 small settlements with full amenities and roads. If we all succeeded in putting all our weight behind this method, we would rapidly revive the countryside and repay our debt. The individual method of construction has also begun to revive. All this has enabled us over 3 years to increase construction of housing by one-third and construction of preschool establishments and other sociocultural consumer facilities by 150-200 percent.

Nonetheless construction is a very sore point in the countryside. We are literally starved of construction materials; we cannot really get going with laying on gas supplies for the countryside; and the electricity supply question has not yet been resolved. Electricity networks are in a dilapidated state. No one is resolving the question of replacing or reconstructing them.

We established two plants—producing bricks and silicate blocks—in order to escape from the situation that has taken shape, and we are developing slab construction. An agreement has been signed with Italian firms on constructing a firm to produce facing slabs. We are conducting talks with West German entrepreneurs on creating tile-manufacturing capacities. All this will happen in time. But we must not sit by and wait because we need help now.

But constructing housing is not everything. We were worried most of all by the following question: Where are we to get people from? We won substantial support in this matter from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and from in-depth articles in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and SELSKAYA ZHIZN, and radio and television broadcasts played a sizeable role. People who have chosen to live in our countryside have arrived. At present more than 30,000 applications have been received. There was a shortage of 800 milkmaids and 1,500 came, along with more than 2,000 machine operators—approximately 13,000 people in total. The resettlement of abandoned villages has begun, as it were. Moreover, it is mainly young people who left their birthplaces in the past who are coming. People are also coming from Moscow, Belorussia, and the country's other regions. Children's voices and children's laughter could finally be heard in the countryside. Another 59 schools had to be opened. But this was a welcome task. Would that we had more like it! We are grateful to the Komsomol for its action program "I Choose To Live in the Countryside." The Komsomol itself literally came to life when it was entrusted with a concrete cause—that of helping establish and revive the lost Russian villages. It sometimes receives surprising letters like, for instance, the following: "I'm probably no good to you, I'm old, I'm already 36, but I'm asking you to take me...."

This is what Anna Alekseyevna Kravtsova writes from Kushchevskaya village in Krasnodar Kray: "We looked at your natural surroundings and we liked them a lot. Our family of 14 from an ancient race of tillers wants to lease land and a livestock unit from you. We want to help the country obtain as many vegetables and meat products as possible...."

The young Sidorushkiny family from Moscow announced that after watching the television program "Return to the Land" it wanted to live and work in a village in the Orel area. The same wish is voiced by the Sychevs from Moscow, the Golub family from Crimea Oblast, and even by a graduate of the Kamerenko Corn Research Institute from Dnepropetrovsk, who would like to organize a cooperative in our oblast.

However, though resettlement is also helping us to resolve the demographic problem, it is not eliminating it completely. It is important to ensure that our population multiplies. Any tasks can be resolved with people.

Boosting the economy of backward livestock units does not mean slackening work with strong, highly profitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes. On the contrary, we note that many of them have for a long time rested on the successful figures of their past achievements. The obkom party bureau reached this conclusion after studying the work of 60 of the oblast's best livestock units that are headed as a rule by worthy prestigious people. We said this to them openly. So this gave rise to a special program in our oblast whereby advanced livestock units also resolved to increase production by 30-50 percent by assimilating lease relations.

Finally, since we consider meat production to be the sorest point in our oblast, we decided to use any means to resolve this problem, the most rapid being to double the population's head of livestock, develop leasing at home, and create one or two cooperatives in every livestock unit. At the same time we are setting ourselves the task of having complexes in every rayon for fattening livestock from 20-day old calves up, and hog fattening complexes. Moreover, we are doing all this on the basis of our own feed alone.

A very great many unresolved questions have accumulated in the sphere of output processing and storage. They are already beginning to substantially slow down agricultural development and are provoking complaints from working people, which were justly mentioned at a recent conference at the CPSU Central Committee.

More funds have begun to be channeled into this and assimilated in order to lessen the acuteness of the situation. Additional capacities have been commissioned for producing meat, sausages, noncommodity raw materials, confectionery, canned fruit and vegetables, and nonalcoholic beverages. A refrigerated plant, a refrigerated store with a capacity of 560 tonnes, and storehouses for 45,000 tonnes of potatoes, vegetables, and fruit have been built in Orel. Pickled cabbage has begun to be exported and consumer goods worth R18 million obtained.

Nevertheless the weakness of the material and technical processing bases is still causing serious disquiet. This is the second year that we have been unable to obtain a blueprint for building a new meat combine, and design questions relating to the modernization of existing enterprises are slow to be resolved. Moreover, as a rule these blueprints contain technologies of yesteryear. There is no technological equipment for small processing workshops, and even for canteens, that has been specially adapted to field conditions. We realize that there are difficulties here—and quite big ones at that. But I would like them to be solved more rapidly. This would give an additional boost to accelerating the development of the entire agro-industrial complex.

To sum up everything that has been said, it is important to answer the following question: What have we gained from all this work of restructuring the oblast's agro-industrial complex? Above all, a belief in the correctness of the political course elaborated by the party Central Committee and its outstanding supporters and propagandists and the first modest results.

Over the last 3 years grain and sugar beet production have increased by 46 and 36 percent respectively, and feed procurement has virtually doubled. Feed production has been assigned to an independent sector everywhere and transferred to the collective and lease contracts, thanks to which we have almost 30 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock. It is the second year that no one has asked the oblast organizations for feed, and as a result nine rayons will today receive an additional yield of 400-500 kg of milk per cow, and by and large the oblast has drawn near to the 3,000 mark (an increase of approximately 1,000 kg in 4 years). This year approximately 100,000 tonnes of milk above the plan will be sold. Meat and milk procurement over the last 3 years have risen in our oblast by 30 and 27 percent respectively. The 5 largest rayons and 108 kolkhozes and sovkhozes have mounted a struggle to obtain 4,000 kg of milk per cow. To be honest, we could not even have dreamed of this before! All this has enabled us to produce enough agricultural output to meet the 5-year plan control figures 2 years ahead of schedule.

Owing to above-plan production, we were able to increase meat and dairy product sales for local supply by 35 and 17 percent respectively. In principle the problem of providing the population with milk and dairy products has been resolved in our oblast. Butter, cheese, pork, poultry, and eggs are sold at state retail prices, whereas sausage and beef are sold at commission prices.

At the same time the party obkom well realizes that our level of intensification is still low at present. The oblast has large reserves and potential especially for increasing

the production of grain, meat, and other agricultural products. The problem of providing the population with housing, consumer goods, and medical and cultural consumer services is still acute.

That is why the oblast's working people are deeply grateful to the party Central Committee and the government for the attention and aid that they are devoting to the Non-Chernozem Zone. This gives us strength in galvanizing our own potential. It is no coincidence that Communists are setting themselves the task of producing 2.5 tonnes of grain, 1 tonne of milk, and 2 quintals of meat per oblast inhabitant at the party conferences now being held. We need to do this because we put 60-65 percent of livestock farming output in the union republic fund.

But, comrades, let's be frank. During our lives we have frequently, I think, resorted to salvage ideas. When machine tractor stations were disbanded, when obkoms were divided into rural and industrial obkoms, and when livestock units and rayons were amalgamated, we jumped on specialization and concentration, and assimilated the Bogodukhov method of servicing equipment and so on and so forth. However, marked changes did not occur. I think that the weakest aspect in all these areas was the fact that they did not take into consideration people's interests and had little effect on the structure of rural life itself. These changes did not, as it were, apply to peasants, and the latter were indifferent to them and continued to live away from the mainstream.

The introduction of the lease and the social reequipping of the countryside has seen an end to this indifference, since it touches the very foundations of working people's life—the vital cells making up the entire organism of our society. This is the irreversible force of restructuring and a pledge of success in resolving the food problem.

Nonetheless the new principles are having difficulty making headway. Conservatism of thinking is above all an obstacle. Today opposition to the lease is most often covert, lurking behind a struggle for "purity of socialism." We have even begun to receive letters asking: What will happen to you in 20 years time?

We will probably be working and living in a better way. Today it is clear that intellectual potential is being accumulated, that there are knowledgeable cadres and a clear path leading somewhere. It is especially irksome that there are people on this path, and some "shadowy forces," that will never understand that it is time to revive the countryside. Do waiting lines and shortages of materials and industrial goods really constitute purity of socialism? It is this more than anything else that irritates people and darkens their lives.

In assessing the results of assimilating the new economic relations, it is easy to notice that they cannot be promising if they operate only in isolated pockets and are based on muscle power. If the first positive results can be achieved through this form itself, then it must be reinforced more rapidly by employing means of small-scale mechanization and progressive technologies, and by creating working conditions that will guarantee a modern level of production culture, will not undermine opportunities for people's leisure and instruction, and will leave no room for the freeloaders and idlers, who are living a troublefree existence today. To some extent the course of ensuring that every new settlement is now leased out together with a family lease livestock unit will enable this problem to be resolved.

However, in order for the lease to become established, people who have taken on the job need to be confident. A law on the lease, which would give the leaseholder—the working man who stands firm on the land—priority, is needed. To use the words of that outstanding Russian economist and agrarian specialist A.V. Chayanov, "we must ensure that there is no reason for the peasant to escape form the countryside and that he can live untroubled in the countryside." By using the lease contract we are, it emerges, violating Article 50 of the USSR Principles of Land Legislation, which says outright that leasing land is forbidden. Consequently, a leaseholder is a potential violator.

Take the following question: Why does the leaseholder need norms, shifts, standard tractors and standard hectares, and so on? These are all attributes of the old relations. It is important for the leaseholder to know how much he has invested in production and what the cost of his output is. The leaseholder and the entire economy gain from this simplification. S.A. Budagov, director of "Vyshne-Olshanskiy" Sovkhoz, once noted that after the transition to the lease contract he saved half a tonne of paper on accounting alone. I think that these and other questions relating to the development of the agro-industrial complex will be reflected in the decisions of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. [passage omitted]

Dnepropetrovsk Grain Plan Overfulfilled
PM1711154188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 1

[TASS report: "Into Motherland's Granaries"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk, 16 Nov—The Dnepropetrovsk Oblast grain growers have won a great labor victory. With a plan of 1.26 million tonnes for the year, they have poured 1,277,000 tonnes of grain crops into the state granaries. Some 84 percent of the winter wheat sold has been of the strong and valuable strains. Over 460,000 tonnes of corn grain have been sold. The farms of Solonyanskiy, Sinelnikovskiy, Novomoskovskiy, and Pavlogradskiy rayons dispatched the most grain of all. Seed and forage stocks have been poured in. Under the complex weather conditions the success became possible thanks to the purposeful improvement of the standard of arable farming and the collaboration between the grain

crop growers and the scientists of the "Dnepr" science and production organization for corn. The areas of crops cultivated using intensive technology have been considerably expanded.

Early November Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM1611145988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Review by agrometeorologist N. Korenkova: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] In many areas of the Soviet Union's European territory the weather is colder than normal. In the first 10 days of November the average air temperature was 3-6 degrees below average and, in Kurgan Oblast, Chelyabinsk Oblast, and the east of Sverdlovsk and Orenburg Oblasts, 1-2 degrees below average. In the Northern, Volga-Vyatka, Ural, Central, Central Chernozem, and northern Volga regions, and also in Estonia and Latvia, winter grain crops and perennial grasses are in a dormant state beneath the snow, the depth of which has ranged between 3 and 15 cm, even 20 cm in some places. The minimum soil temperature at the tillering node depth of winter crops has remained steady in the region of minus 2 to minus 7 degrees. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses are wintering successfully. In the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Belorussia they ceased vegetating at near-normal time. In a number of regions of this territory a thin layer of snow has formed in the fields. In the North Caucasus and Lower Volga regions winter crop vegetation was observed by day at the beginning of the 10-day period. At the end of this period there was a drop in temperature and vegetation ceased. The state of the crops and their moisture supply are mainly good.

In the agricultural regions of Siberia the weather is warmer than normal. In Tyumen Oblast and Omsk Oblast it has been close to the norm. In Western Siberia winter grain crops and perennial grasses are in a dormant state beneath a thin (1-5 cm) layer of snow. There have been no heavy frosts, and the minimum soil temperature at the tillering node depth of winter crops has remained steady in the region of minus 2 to minus 4 degrees, and minus 8 to minus 10 degrees in some places.

It is very warm in the Central Asian republics. The average air temperature throughout the 10-day period has been 3-6 degrees above normal. The maximum air temperature has reached 23-29 degrees and 30-33 degrees in southern Turkmenia. The temperature fell slightly in the middle of the 10-day period, which was accompanied by precipitation in a number of regions. In Kirghizia, winter grain crops have grown and have a good moisture supply. In the other Central Asian republics the moisture supply in nonirrigated land is poor.

The weather picture in the Transcaucasian republics is complex. On the whole, the weather is colder than normal. There has been precipitation in Georgia and parts of Armenia for 4-6 days. Precipitation has ranged between 20 and 45 mm and, on the Black Sea coast, between 100 and 230 mm. In the subtropical regions of Georgia, the temperature at night has fallen to between zero and minus 2 degree and sleet has fallen, which has not been good for citrus fruits.

Agricultural Developments for 9-14 Nov

LD1611055588 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 9-14 November. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

9 November

The picking of above-plan cotton has started in Surkhan-Darya Oblast, Uzbekistan. Although 480,000 tonnes of raw cotton have been laid in, fine-fibered varieties account for 75 percent. (1400)

The yearly plan for hay procurement has been fulfilled in Kazakhstan. In terms of other kinds of fodder, however, the republic is considerably behind last year's indices. (1400)

The agricultural workers of Tajikistan have delivered 935,000 tonnes of cotton to the procurement centers. This is 35,000 tonnes above the plan and 200,000 tonnes more than at this time last year. The state order for fine-fibered cotton has been fulfilled for the first time in many years. (1900)

10 November

Farmers in Odessa Oblast have sold more than 1.5 million tonnes of grain crops to the state, as compared to their target of 1.38 million tonnes. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800)

Tuva ASSR farmers have sold 42,000 tonnes of grain crops to the state so far, 12,000 tonnes over their state orders. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800)

The rice farmers of Odessa Oblast have collected a harvest of over 28,000 tonnes, almost 1,000 tonnes more than the plan target. (1600)

11 November

No fileworthy items monitored.

12 November

Uzbekistan has reached this year's cotton procurement target of 5.25 million tonnes. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130)

13 November

Mass harvesting of citrus fruit is underway in the Georgian village of Abkhaziya and Adzhariya, and the problem of protecting citrus plantations in the low temperature is very worrying. The year's harvest will be lost if the temperature falls to one degree below zero. This is the 3d day of heavy snowfall. Farmers are making devices for shaking off the snow, (?fumigating) the trees, and bringing the crop in early. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800)

14 November

Farmers have met their obligations for selling cotton to the state. More than 75,000 tonnes have been delivered to procurement points. (1430)

Scientific

Cosmos-1979 Satellite Launched

LD1811085388 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—An artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1979, was launched in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite is to continue the exploration of outer space.

The satellite was put into orbit with the following parameters:

initial period of revolution—92.8 minutes,

maximum distance from the earth's surface—432 kilometres,

minimum distance from the earth's surface—408 kilometres,

inclination of the orbit—65 degrees.

The on-board equipment is operating normally.

Correspondents Report on Soviet Shuttle Program

LD1711185588 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—TASS correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Yuriy Shevypakov report:

Before a manned launch of the Soviet orbital spacecraft "Buran" whose first test flight in an automatic mode on November 15 was successful, there will be intensive test of the spacecraft in an automatic mode so as to reduce a risk of the manned flight to the minimum. This was said today by scientists who created the space system "Energiya-Buran", Academician Valentin Glushko and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yuriy Semyonov.

Specialists will have to carry out scopeful work to sum up the results of the test flight, to study the state of the spaceship, to analyse the data recorded by the onboard equipment. For instance, there will be thorough checks as to how the heat-protective coating of the ship, consisting of 39,000 ceramic plates withstood the impact of heated streams of plasma when the ship entered dense layers of the atmosphere. The technology of manufacture of heat-protective coating is one of the most complex problems against which the creators of the U.S. space shuttle and the Soviet reusable spacecraft Buran came up.

Coating of two types, depending on the place on the casing, is used on the Soviet ship. The first type has the form of plates based on extra-fine quartz fibre and flexible elements of organic fibres that can withstand high temperatures. The second type is a material based on carbon, for the sections of the casing that withstand most intensive heat—wing trailing edge, fin leading edge, nose section. The total mass of heat-protecting coating is no less than nine tons with the spaceship's launching mass being 105 tons.

Buran's own engine, as distinct from the engines of the U.S. space shuttle that play the role of the second stage, is fired in space at the altitude of some 150 kilometres the moment the ship is separated from the Energiya booster rocket. By two impulses it picks up the speed till it reaches orbital speed, shaping a circular orbit with an altitude of 250 kilometres. The total reserve of fuel is about 14 tons.

Buran's important specific feature is the capacity to make a lateral manoeuvre of up to 2,000 kilometres at the section of lowering in the atmosphere. In case of unforeseen circusmtances this makes it possible to abort the flight and make the landing at one of the three basic airfields. After the first flight, Buran landed on a five-kilometre-long strip, which is 84 metres wide and is situated 12 kilometres away from the launch site at the Baykonur Cosmodrome. When the ship is commissioned, it is planned to complete two more airfields in the west and the east of the country.

Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Chief Administration of the USSR for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos), told reporters that several reusable spacecraft are under construction in the USSR. Two to four flights will be made a year. Their chief purpose will be repair of space equipment and return of worn components from the orbit. Separate sections of the Salyut-7 orbital stations are, specifically, to be brought to Earth.

Nikonov Attends Krasnodar Scientific Conference

LD1711093888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] An all-union scientific practical conference on improving the scientific provision of the country's agro-industrial complex has opened in Krasnodar. [passage omitted]

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov took part today in the work of the scientific practical conference. [video shows street scenes, interview with Vaskhnil president, view of conference hall with Nikonov on podium]

Military

General Yazov Interviewed on Military Discipline

AU1711135588 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Army General Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR, by unidentified NOVOSTI representative, "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA": "On Radically Improving Military Discipline"—date and place not given]

[Text] [NOVOSTI] Why did the CPSU Central Committee find it necessary to adopt a decree on strengthening military discipline in the Soviet Army and Navy, and what prompted the discussion on implementing this decree at the session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo?

[Yazov] First of all, I would like to draw the attention of foreign readers to the following point. Issues relating to the development of the Armed Forces have always been within our party's purview. The CPSU Central Committee decree on strengthening military discipline in the Army and Navy was adopted during a period when, in accordance with the requirements of restructuring, a start had been made on more strictly assessing all aspects of life in our country, including issues connected with building up the military, the most important component of which is the level of discipline, order, and good organization among the troops. The Armed Forces form an organic part of our society; they share its life, and accordingly are experiencing the same problems of development.

The practical implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree requires that the Ministry of Defense of the USSR, the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, and all military cadres intensify their efforts to overcome the negative phenomena in Army and Navy life, which chiefly arose during the period of stagnation.

[NOVOSTI] As pointed out at the Politburo session, serious concern is aroused by the facts concerning interrelationships between servicemen that do not conform to the military statute, cases of breaches of regulations for carrying out combat duties, and accidents involving military equipment. In your view, what are the main causes of these phenomena?

[Yazov] The reasons are varied. The main reason is that we have not yet succeeded in fully utilizing all the possibilities for maintaining strict discipline according to the military statute in every unit and on board every ship, which ensures the precise functioning of the entire military organism and the formation of a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere within the collective.

Take, for example, the problem of how close the officer is to the soldier or sergeant. Here I am not thinking of the professional service contacts—there are quite enough of these. Many commanders and political officers are in the barracks, so to speak, from reveille to last post, yet they often lack the skill of knowing how to deal with the men, fail to understand and consider their interests, or to display true fatherly concern. In a number of cases one notes an attempt to embellish the true state of affairs.

In other words, we must increase our efforts in strengthening discipline according to the statutes in the units and on board the ships, and increase strict observance of the regulations in all units. The most important task is to give higher priority to working with individuals and to overcoming formalism in the personnel's political and military education.

In order to facilitate the resolution of this problem, greater openness and glasnost is called for in all spheres of Army life, as well as democratization of Army life within the framework of the laws and the general military statutes.

[NOVOSTI] Dmitriy Timofeyevich, what do you think are the chief deficiencies in the training of young recruits for military service?

[Yazov] As a whole, the Army and Navy receive good recruits. The young men perform their military duty of defending socialist society honorably and worthily. However, problems do exist here. Unfortunately, it turns out that they are not always trained in the best way for their duties.

First, there is the problem that some of the young men are inadequately prepared morally and psychologically for Army service, for overcoming difficulties, and for carrying out the requirements of the statutes and regulations.

Second, one comes across facts that show that individual young soldiers have no deep understanding of their honorable constitutional obligation and personal responsibility to defend the homeland. Certain deficiencies in the military-patriotic training of the young soldiers probably also have a bearing here.

Third, the physical training of prospective draftees needs to be improved. It is no secret that some of them fail to get into the Army because of their physical condition, while others, because of their physical characteristics, are unable to endure the great demands made on them during the initial period.

[NOVOSTI] A recommendation has been made that the Ministry of Defense of the USSR and the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy should adopt a package of measures to strengthen military discipline. What specifically do you have in mind?

[Yazov] The main tasks and directions for further strengthening discipline in the Army and Navy are defined in the actual decree of the CPSU Central Committee. The Ministry of Defense of the USSR and the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy has already drafted and is now implementing a system of measures relating to organization and education. The main direction for further strengthening military disciplines remains, as before, the guaranteeing of strict discipline according to the statues in every army unit and on every ship.

As far as additional measures are concerned, their main direction is determined by the practical implementation of the demands of restructuring in the Armed Forces. Here one has in mind the democratization of Army life, while strictly observing the principle of one-man command, expanding glasnost, and increasing the role of the social institutions.

More specifically, we have already begun to implement a program for training and retraining the officer cadres both in the system of military training establishments and during the performance of their service duties. In this context, particular attention is being paid to developing working habits under the conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost. The restructuring of party-political work is under way.

We are continuing to strengthen observance of the regulations. Universal legal instruction has been introduced. Work on the new military statues is nearing completion. A number of documents have been drafted that ensure a substantial increase in the rights and role of the officer corps.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that we face a great and responsible task in carrying out the requirements of restructuring in the Armed Forces and in radically improving military discipline.